



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Burundi

Prime Minister Asks Countrymen for 'Patience'

BR0912130994 Brussels L'ECHO in French 8 Dec 94 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Threat of Serious Crisis in Burundi"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The conditions are ripe for a major crisis in Burundi, but talks are nevertheless continuing between the majority and opposition parties, despite being diametrically opposed. The principal opposition party, Uprona [Unity for National Progress], is calling for the resignation of President of the National Assembly Jean Minani, whom it accuses of inciting ethnic hatred against the minority Tutsi people. Party leader Charles Mukasi had set Tuesday as the final date to replace Minani, failing which all the Uprona ministers would resign.

The ultimatum passed and no dramatic resignations were announced, but national political life is again threatened by paralysis.

Several of the seven Uprona ministers see themselves as having left office, others are away on missions, and the country is hanging upon the decisions of its politicians.

Uprona Prime Minister Anatole Kanyenkiko has called on the population to exercise "patience." Since this new crisis began last week, Kanyenkiko has taken a different direction to his party, stressing that he is a "consensus" prime minister. The government was formed in October following the adoption of a government accord stating the terms of the power sharing between the majority and opposition parties. Frodebu [Burundi Democratic Front] won a major victory in last year's presidential and legislative elections, but the constant threat of civil war in Burundi means that all political parties must share power.

Frodebu militants denounce the creeping "putsch" by civilians who are unable to accept the fact of having lost the power they held for 30 years.

Rwanda

Premier Criticizes France's Rwanda Policy

BR1212163594 Paris LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR in French 8 Dec 94 p 6

[Interview with Prime Minister Faustin Twagiramungu by Laurent Bijard in Kigali; date not given: "If I have sold myself to a cause, it is that of reconciliation..."]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Bijard] Were you surprised by [French Foreign Minister] Alain Juppe's recent criticism of your government?

[Twagiramungu] I am forced to state that some members of the French Government do not understand Rwanda.

They have a very poor understanding of the situation here. They announced that a minority, the Tutsi, has seized power. Alain Juppe, your foreign minister, does not hesitate to speak of my government as a government of Tutsis. He is wrong. There are, in fact, quite a few Hutu ministers, as there are Hutus within the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) itself. I am a Hutu myself, and I have not sold myself to the RPF's cause. If I have sold myself, it is to the cause of national reconciliation.

Unfortunately, there will be no magic reconciliation, I do not have Moses' staff which makes it possible to work miracles. Reconciliation happens first of all through a revolution in attitudes, and that takes time. People must relearn the sense of the nation, that the main thing is not to be Hutu or Tutsi, but to be Rwandan. I do not understand why people want to judge us so quickly. The new government was formed four months and a few days ago. Those who judge us do not take into consideration the magnitude of the trauma which has afflicted our country. Up to 1 million victims have been counted. They belong to the Tutsi ethnic minority but also to progressive Hutu parties. In Paris today there is a tendency to believe that all the Hutus were members of the Habyarimana party. Hutus are confused with Interahamwe (the name of the police of the National Revolutionary Movement for Democracy and Development, the MRND, which committed the massacres). The role of France is not to define our policies but to help our government.

[Bijard] Despite the genocide which devastated your country, France places certain conditions on its assistance...

[Twagiramungu] Yes, for example, they want us to accept in our government some of those who massacred our people. We would have to share power with them. As if in postwar Germany, Adenauer had been forced to collaborate with the Nazis. If the MRND leaders were to return to the country and make honorable amends, we could discuss this, but not a single one has done this. They prefer to go knock at the door of the European capitals for help in regaining power to Kigali. We cannot accept this. I believe France is wrong about Habyarimana, who was a very evil man, who adroitly manipulated the French and knew well which notes to play. Paris has believed for a long time that he is a saint. Today, France does not want to recognize its mistakes. For this great power, we are only little pygmies who keep making noise...

I would like to believe Paris is not aware of the plan for massacres developed by the Habyarimana clan, but I do not understand why France is blocking the European Community's aid to my country. We are expected to establish a perfect democracy the day after a genocide. Whereas we have not yet received a penny from the international community. We are asked to reach a very difficult goal without having been given the means.

(Footnote) (The first 60 million ECU released recently by the European Union were in fact already included in

the credits granted by the Lome accords, before the beginning of last spring's massacres. About 160 million ECU in direct aid are still blocked.)

Deputy Defense Minister on Genocide Trial

LD0412192894 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1530 GMT 4 Dec 94

[Passages contained within quotation marks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] In Rwanda the new government is trying to adapt to the idea that the genocide carried out during the war will be investigated internationally. However, despite its suspicious attitude, the government has promised to cooperate with the military court under UN auspices. Andrew Rwigamba, Rwanda's deputy defense minister [name and title as received] outlined to Olli-Pekka Sulasma the government's views on the matter in Kigali:

[Rwigamba, in English] "[Words indistinct] punished in accordance with the laws here and (?they would) want to see it here, done. So I think they [words indistinct]."

[Sulasma] The Rwandans want to see those guilty of genocide being punished and they want to see it happen here. They will feel betrayed if the main culprits escape with a few years in prison for their deeds. The people think that somebody wants to protect the criminals.

These words come from the mouth of Andrew Rwigamba. Apart from being the new chief of cabinet in the Rwandan Defense Ministry, he is also the right hand man of Paul Kagame, the leader of the Rwandan Patriotic Front. Rwigamba lists the government's views on why the UN military court cannot, in its opinion, correct the wrongs that have taken place in Rwanda.

[Rwigamba] "I think there is a lot that leaves to be desired. [Word indistinct] I do not see how, because quite a number of people will be left out, for example."

[Sulasma] A military court leaves a lot to be desired. Much time will pass before it can even get started and even so, in our opinion, it will leave many guilty of murder outside the investigation, Andrew Rwigamba says.

The time set for the investigation of war crimes will provide for the investigation of only such cases that have taken place after January this year. The Rwandan Patriotic Front is convinced, however, that the planning for genocide began as early as 1990 when the organization's troops invaded the country for the first time. The scale of punishments does not satisfy the new regime, either. The death sentence is in force in Rwanda. An international court will not, however, mete out such sentences. In the view of the Rwandan Government, therefore, it is too lenient.

The third point causing dissatisfaction is where the court will sit. The new government would like to turn the trial

into a public spectacle with which it would boost its own wavering position in the country. The trial site has not yet been decided, but it is highly unlikely that it will be in Rwanda.

Andrew Rwigamba says that even with its shortcomings, an impartial investigation must be carried out. It is a kind of purification ritual, only after which it is possible to contemplate that the Rwandans are standing as one nation. Even after this, however, one section of the people can remain outside the unity, as far as Andrew Rwigamba is concerned.

[Rwigamba] "Not the old regime. We are doing it, because the old regime, the majority of them are criminals. I will [words indistinct] with the man who was the president here that time. [Words indistinct] he is the one who initiated the genocide."

[Sulasma] We cannot even contemplate cooperation with the old regime. We can never negotiate with the same politicians who publicly fanned genocide, Rwigamba says.

It is easy to understand his unconditional attitude, but the question arises unbidden whether that unconditional attitude hides the seed of a new war. This is Olli-Pekka Sulasma in Kigali.

Vice President on Ties With Burundi, Army

AB1112194594 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 10 Dec 94

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] To all appearances both the Governments of Burundi and Rwanda have been doing their best to put the lid on tensions between Tutsis and Hutus, which have led to so much bloodshed and instability in both countries. Of late, there has been quite a bit of high-level contact between the two countries with the refugee crisis at the top of the agenda. Just how good are relations between Rwanda and Burundi? That's the question Josephine Hazely put to Paul Kagame, formerly the leader of the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF], and now the Rwandan vice president and minister of defense.

[Begin recording] [Kagame] The relationship is good but we have been very cautious. We have not moved so deep into that relationship because we know the misinterpretations that can be made out of that relationship by some people, given some problems that affect Burundi which also affect Rwanda, and we think we shall continue to be very cautious in the contacts we have with them to make sure nobody uses some of these contacts as a pretext to cause problems either for Burundi or for Rwanda.

[Hazely] You are also the minister of defense as well as the vice president. What are your plans for the new Rwandan Army? Is it, like Burundi, going to be dominated by the Tutsis, the RPF which fought the war?

[Kagame] Certainly not. First of all, even the RPF itself is not a monoethnic army. As you may well be aware, even before we transformed the thing into a national army, it was an army that was composed of Rwandans, irrespective of their ethnic background. I may not be able to tell you specific numbers of each ethnic group in the army but it is very very clear that we drew the composition of the army from the Rwandans as a whole, without specific regard to their ethnic background. What we are now doing is that we are incorporating the former government forces. Even in their ranks, we are adding them to.... [pauses] We are in the process of integrating them in the army, so the program we have is to give our army a national character and not an ethnic character, and we shall do whatever is possible to make sure we achieve that. [end recording]

Zaire

Kengo on Preparation for Elections, Other Issues

BR2811144894 Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE
25 Nov 94 p 6

[Interview with Prime Minister Kengo wa Dondo by Marie-France Cros; place and date not given: "Kengo: 'The Military Should Obey the Civilians'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Cros] While you return from a Euro-American tour with conditional declarations of support, President Mobutu goes to China and comes back with promises. You are preparing for elections and the head of state announces that he will be the "candidate of the nation"—the kind of talk that belongs to the pre-multiparty era. Are you in conflict with Mr. Mobutu?

[Kengo wa Dondo] Many people, particularly those of my political persuasion, the opposition, want there to be a conflict: They say I should give way. A conflict could only come about if the president were to infringe the functions reserved by the constitution for the prime minister or parliament. If there were a conflict between the president and the prime minister, the latter should step down. The situation is no longer as it was under the Second Republic.

[Cros] You said last week that you would take sanctions against the Lebanese community in Zaire if it did not rid itself of its undesirable elements, the people who engage in currency trafficking. The Zairian press says you are being threatened with reprisals...

[Kengo wa Dondo] That means that abuses of authority are being committed on Zairian territory and, as if that were not enough, the head of government is being threatened! You know, the Zairian press makes headlines to sell newspapers. Let us say that from what I have said it is easy to understand why there is confusion among those with a guilty conscience and who do not accept me easily.

[Cros] Are the Lebanese not being made scapegoats? Everyone is saying that it is only thanks to Zairian protection that they can traffic at all.

[Kengo wa Dondo] I have always said that the Lebanese problem is a facade. What is behind this facade? Politicians, civilians or military personnel. I do not know who they are: I only see the facade, not the people behind it. I can not judge intentions, only facts. It is the Lebanese who are implicated, so I am pursuing the Lebanese. It is up to them to denounce those who are employing them, protecting them, giving them the arrogance they're displaying.

[Cros] You have said that the military are behind them. And they have arms. Is there not a danger in attacking them?

[Kengo wa Dondo] Those who bear arms often despise the law. Can one also despise the people? The people may reach a point where they have had enough. Iran used to be the best-armed developing country: Was the Iranian army able to maintain power by the force of arms? No one can. What we must do is ensure the primacy of the law. If we want to arrive at a Third Republic, which we all hope will be a state operating under the rule of law, the military must obey civilian law, but the power of civilian law exists only because there is a public force.

[Cros] You talk of the people, but your party does not have a strong popular base.

[Kengo wa Dondo] I ask those who say that to be patient: the verdict of the ballot boxes will be irreconcilable for all sides. Between now and the elections there could be some surprises, even for those who consider themselves to be key players.

[Cros] Coming back to the Lebanese, would it not be worth coming to an understanding with them?

[Kengo wa Dondo] The country asks for no more than that we come to an understanding with all those who come here to respect the laws and rules of the republic.

[Cros] Did they respect them before they arrived?

[Kengo wa Dondo] Of course. They arrived with a breach of trust: with money, they can go anywhere, get anything they want, particularly if they are supported. We want them to work like everyone else does.

[Cros] Moving on to another subject: What is the situation with the electoral timetable? The elections are scheduled for July, but you said you need a census before then, and it has not begun yet.

[Kengo wa Dondo] Work on the census, identification and enrollment is going to start in January.

[Cros] What are the problems you're facing?

[Kengo wa Dondo] Lack of resources, so we shall have to use outside assistance. Then there is the country's run-down situation. We need to make a minimum number of improvements. What is the state of the roads? We have to transport the ballot boxes, the electors have to get to the voting stations, the assessors have to be able to transport the ballot boxes to the counting stations and all this has to be done openly. Before that, the candidates have to be able to travel everywhere and carry out their campaign freely without having to worry about their own safety or that of their possessions, even if what they say does not please the government or the other candidates. Moreover, it has been said at the Sovereign National Conference that the referendum on the future constitution ought to take place after the project has been translated into the various native languages so that people understand what they are committing themselves to. To do this, the regional administrative system needs to be reestablished in an equitable and balanced manner.

[Cros] In short, the country needs to be developed before the elections.

[Kengo wa Dondo] No, but a minimum standard is required so that you people, in your countries, can not contest the elections. We are not having elections to settle conflicts but to seek legitimacy. So we have to settle any contentious matters first. Otherwise the elections will only exacerbate them.

[Cros] What do you answer to people who emphasize that Mr. Mobutu and you belong to the same ethnic group, the Ngbandis, so you are bound to agree. In short, that by accepting you as prime minister, the president is preparing for his succession?

[Kengo wa Dondo] President Mobutu has announced his candidacy. I myself have no political ambition. How do you reconcile that? Even if it were true! Whatever the case, we have to go via the ballot box, so why be afraid? After the death of the Ivorian President Houphouët-Boigny, a [member of the] Baoule [tribe], he was succeeded by another Baoule and no one objected. But you are not going to put words into my mouth: my only political ambition is to lead my country to the elections. That is as far as it goes.

Kengo Presents Draft Budget to Parliament

AB1212123594 Kinshasa Tele-Zaire Television Network in French 1900 GNT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] Here is Amissi Masuditambwe's report on the formal parliamentary session at which the prime minister presented the state's 1995 draft budget.

[Begin recording] [Masuditambwe] (?Chaired by) His Excellency Monsignor Laurent Monsengwo-Pasinya, speaker of the High Council of the Republic-Transitional Parliament [HCR-PT], today's plenary session was devoted to the presentation of the 1995 draft budget by Prime Minister Kengo wa Dondo. According to the

prime minister, this is—unavoidably—an austerity budget, considering the disastrous situation in which our economy finds itself. The prime minister and his government opted for a realistic budget in the draft presented to the people's representatives. [passage omitted]

The honorable HCR-PT members will begin debating this 1995 appropriation bill at 1000 on 12 December, after having given themselves time to study the document over the weekend. Here is Prime Minister Kengo wa Dondo:

[Kengo] Our country is ending its fourth year of hyperinflation, accelerated currency depreciation, dwindling productivity, generalized unemployment, and abject poverty. The basic causes of these woes are well known, as they have been discussed extensively. Indeed, in a hyperinflationary environment, a slowing down of prices by a few points per month is not enough to break inflationary expectations. Our economy is still undermined by several vicious circles: spiraling price hikes, which are coupled with a spiral of public expenditures and paper money supplies. Unless this spiral and these expectations are broken, the vast majority of our people will remain in abject poverty for a long time to come.

Msgr. speaker, distinguished executive members of the House, honorable HCR-PT members: The budget you will be examining constitutes the key element of the shock [preceding word in English] therapy proposed by the government to check inflation. It was drawn up, bearing in mind the following parameters for the macroeconomic environment: growth rate—nil; gross domestic product—13,264 billion new zaires; average exchange rate—3,500 new zaires to the dollar; tax burden—7.5 percent.

The budget's primary objective is to contain the annual inflation rate at around 20 percent. To this end, the government is making a deliberate effort to balance the state's financial operations during the first half of 1995. For the rest of the year, the level of the overall budget deficit compatible with the inflation objective is around 106 billion 285 million new zaires, financed to the tune of 94 billion 285 million new zaires by the banking system.

The zero deficit option for the first six-month period was reflected in the revenue and expenditure forecasts according to two main principles. First, revenue was projected within the limits of levels generated in real terms in 1994. These levels represent the volume of earnings that we are sure to mobilize during the first six months in the present state of our economy and our revenue collection institutions. Second, the revenue thus projected determined the estimates of the various budget items. In other words, throughout the first six-month period the state will spend only to the tune of resources actually mobilized.

Msgr. speaker, distinguished executive members of the House, honorable HCR-PT members: On the whole, the

state's 1995 draft budget is as follows: Current revenue—955 billion 640 million new zaires; total off-budget expenditures for order—1,061 billion 933 million new zaires; overall budget deficit—106 billion 285 million new zaires. [end recording]

New Political, Social Force Makes Proposals

AB0612104594 Kinshasa Tele-Zaire Television Network in French 1903 GMT 4 Dec 94

["Excerpt" of statement by the New Political and Social Force at Hotel Memling, Kinshasa, on 3 December; numbering of paragraphs as heard—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] From the political standpoint, the New Political and Social Force [La Nouvelle Force Politique et Sociale, NFPS] reaffirms its faith in the fact that one cannot discard true national reconciliation, which is the only condition for the creation of the social and political peace indispensable for uncontested elections and for the restoration of confidence which is crucial for setting the nation back to work.

1-2. The legitimacy of the government: The NFPS recognizes the government. It however stands up against the shameful practice of our country's political class going to beg for legitimacy outside the country.

1-3. Elections: Consequently, the NFPS demands that the following conditions be respected so that the elections are not transformed into a detonator for the destruction of what still remains of our nation, hence it calls for an electoral law that offers every citizen the opportunity to contest for power; a law which must, therefore, exclude the bipolarization that led to the exclusion of other political and social forces from power as demonstrated under the Transitional Constitutional Act.

3. A joint administrative census and registration of citizens in view of the limited time and means currently at the country's disposal.

4. A joint electoral commission comprising foreign observers, patriotic citizens who have both in the past and at present demonstrated good moral probity and guarantees for representatives from all the important political forces that will have decided to stand elections.

5. A realistic revision of the electoral timetable fixed by the Transitional Constitutional Act.

6. The task of writing the constitution of the Third Republic must be entrusted to the elected members of the Third Republic the majority of whom might be tempted to annul or extensively amend a future constitution worked out by the High Council of the Republic-Transitional Parliament [HCR-PT] which is made up of nonelected members with no direct mandate from the sovereign people.

1-5. Government and Transitional Institutions: Zaire needs a strong head of state, such a man at the helm of power; a strong parliament comprising men who are sufficiently free-minded and courageous; a strong, responsible, and credible government enjoying a political consensus and the confidence of the sovereign people; and finally, a strong judicial system capable of administering justice in equity and of resisting all forms of intimidation.

1-6. Security and State Authority: The NFPS notes that all the transitional governments did not succeed in ensuring the security of goods and persons. This failure is explained by the degradation of the people's social conditions and their lack of confidence in the state whose authority has, consequently, dwindled.

1-7. International Policy: The NFPS calls on the international community to strive for the triumph of democracy in all nations and also for the advent of world democracy. The NFPS recommends to the HCR-PT the amendment of the Constitutional Act and demands the effective independence of the judicial power in order to totally liberate the judicial system from the various yokes that render it ineffective and, consequently, promote the creation of a new mentality both within the political class and in the entire nation.

Kenya**President Moi Gives Independence Day Address**

EA1212173794 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 0914 GMT 12 Dec 94

[Speech by President Daniel arap Moi at Uhuru Park in Nairobi on 12 December—live]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] My fellow countrymen, your graces, your excellencies members of the diplomatic corps, ladies and gentlemen, we are assembled here today to celebrate the day we attained independence at midnight of Thursday, 12 December 1963. With the hoisting of our national flag and the rendition of our national anthem we became a nation. [passage omitted]

My fellow Kenyans, our founding fathers believed in the collective destiny of a united and prosperous Kenya under the management of our own citizens. In the last 30 years we have put in place the institutions necessary for such sustenance of national unity and have earnestly endeavored to build a prosperous nation. [sentence as heard] Our most important duty, therefore, is to respect this heritage, both for our own sake and future generations.

The overriding concern of every Kenyan, irrespective of party affiliation, should be to preserve the essential character of our nation and in particular the essential elements for the preservation of unity. It is by standing firm against divisive tendencies that we can overcome the forces that seek to destroy our nation. I, therefore, urge all leaders to exercise restraint and cultivate a sense of maturity in their utterances. There is a kiswahili adage: ulimi hauna mfupa. The literal translation of that saying is that the tongue, a minor organ in the human body, can easily cause havoc to the entire society. From this saying we should learn that careless and idle talk can destroy what has taken us three decades to build. It is, therefore, incumbent upon every leader to consider the consequence of their conduct and utterances both locally and internationally. Leaders must avoid disseminating propaganda that are likely to disrupt the enjoyment of peaceful coexistence and life, or adversely affect the reputation of our motherland.

Similarly, the media must play a positive role in our development process. Democracy and press freedom depends upon social goals, values and attitudes. The two are not absolute but must be handled responsibly with a high sense of patriotism.

Political pluralism should not be allowed to generate hate, promote ethnicity or cause disregard for law and order. The press should therefore count it a responsibility and duty to stimulate wananchi [citizens] to fully participate in nation-building.

Ladies and gentlemen, we must remind ourselves that after independence we undertook to work toward the eradication of poverty, disease, and illiteracy in our

society. We have made significant progress in that direction but laxity among our people and corrupt practices are undermining and frustrating the national efforts toward the realization of [a] better life. Laxity denies this country the full utilization of its resources, retards the creation of wealth, thus perpetuating poverty. On the other hand, corruption increases poverty by concentrating resources in the hands of [a] few, scaring away both local and foreign investors and, therefore, causing miscalculation of resources in the economy. My government has not and will not condone laxity and corruption.

With regard to laxity, it is the responsibility of every Kenyan to appreciate that hard work is the only way to a better standard of living.

On corruption, my government is committed to fighting it at all levels. Kenyans must stop the habit of inducing public officials with money and other items for services that should be rendered free of charge. Nonetheless, we must stop blaming only the receiver of a bribe. The giver is equally guilty and both should face the full force of the law.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am encouraged by the mature manner in which Kenyans have conducted themselves when faced with difficult circumstances. I commend you all for your perseverance in times of drought and food shortages. Similarly, I thank you most sincerely for the endurance shown during the period when some government medical doctors and public university lecturers went on illegal and costly strike. In all these national trials, you made sacrifices for the sake of national unity and remained steadfast.

Fellow Kenyans, since we became independent 31 years ago, we have come through an orderly transformation and enjoy a high level of political stability which is essential for development. This has enabled us to diversify and register major achievement in our economic record. In 1986, Kenya embarked on a long-term policy framework in collaboration with the donor community to lift Kenya into the path of economic recovery and overall sustained development. Under these policy framework, and especially since 1993, a great deal of reforms have been undertaken within a relatively short time to create an enabling environment for investors, exports, and the creation of jobs. These reforms include substantial relaxation of the import-export regime and removal of regulations that cause delays, inefficiencies and corruption.

Government revenue generation and expenditures have also been receiving attention as a way of improving government services to the public. There has indeed been a major liberalization of the domestic markets and investors can now set their prices competitively. The government has also removed preferential treatment of the parastatal sector so that they can compete with the rest of the participants in business on a level playing field. In addition, there are reforms in the civil service and the parastatal sector intended to further rationalize

expenditure and improve the efficiency and morale of these sectors. The aim is to achieve a more efficient public service which facilitates the development of the economy and the empowerment of individuals to improve their lives.

All these reforms, including mopping up of excess money and bringing discipline into the financial sector, have achieved major progress in restoring macroeconomic stability. The inflation rate dropped sharply from 53 percent in September 1993 to 13 percent in September 1994.

In order.... [pauses] My fellow Kenyans, you will recall that last year on Jamhuri Day, a day like today, I directed the minister for finance to remove all foreign exchange controls. That has been done and we are now left with one issue: that of investment by foreigners in securities and shares quoted on the stock exchange. In order to attract more investment into the country, I have today directed the minister for finance to relax the rules and allow foreign investments in listed local companies through the Nairobi Stock Exchange with effect from 1 January 1995. [applause] Such investments should initially not exceed 20 percent of the companies existing share capital. In view of these changes, I have also instructed the minister to table as soon as possible a bill in parliament to repeal the Exchange Control Act. [passage omitted]

The long-term policy of my government is to pursue sustained growth, alleviation of poverty, and to cushion those who, for one reason or another, cannot cope with the demands of market forces and have been marginalized by the inability to compete. The national conference on social dimensions of development and subsequent workshops outlined the programs and projects we plan to implement in order to benefit all the vulnerable segments of our population.

In this regard, a government mission will soon be going to Paris for the consultative group meeting at which they will discuss with the donor community our concern for these vulnerable groups. However, we must not rely indefinitely on the elusive donor aid for our socioeconomic growth as the former East African countries and East European countries and Russia, for example, have now become the preferred destination for aid. [sentence as heard] We must work harder to achieve our developmental goals and objectives. This country is your country. Nobody else will come to build it for you. We must, therefore, all strive to contribute meaningfully in whatever way possible to the economic advancement of our country.

Ladies and gentlemen, Kenyans will recall that during my recent visit to Belgium and the UK, I had the opportunity to discuss with the prospective investors on investment opportunities. We have had a number of serious inquiries on this matter and I want to assure all, to reassure all investors that their investment will find a safe and secure destination in Kenya. To all the investors

I would like to say that this is the right time to invest in Kenya. Even this morning, I had a very important investor who would like to invest in Kenya. In this connection, my government has established a one-stop office for all investors at the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport. All Kenyans should appreciate the fact that we must actively compete with other countries in attracting foreign investors.

Trade unions, on the other hand, have a particularly vital role to play in maintaining sound industrial relations to create more jobs as no investor would put his resources in an atmosphere of industrial or civil unrest. [passage omitted]

I wish to briefly comment on international affairs. Kenya, as a member of the international community, continues to actively participate in UN peacekeeping efforts, notably in former Yugoslavia. I would like to send my best wishes to our officers and servicemen in this difficult peace missions abroad. [sentence as heard] [applause]

Against the background of the interdependence of nations, we are pursuing the policy of promoting regional economic cooperation and integration. I also attended the first Comesa [Common Market of Eastern and Southern African States] summit meeting in Lilongwe, Malawi, last week. The main objective of these efforts is to uplift the welfare of our African people by increasing intraregional trade and cooperation in various spheres.

Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the people of Mozambique for conducting themselves maturely during the just-concluded elections. I commend Mr. Afonso Dhlakama for accepting the outcome of that election and recognizing the victory of His Excellency Joaquim Chissano. [applause] This is an encouraging outcome, that political differences should not be settled through the barrel of the gun. The challenges of nation-building ahead of them are enormous and we wish them well.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of Angola, Rwanda, Somalia, Liberia, and Sudan. I once again call upon the warring parties in these countries to uphold the values and sanctity of human life and resolve their conflict peacefully. [passage omitted]

Moi Views West, African Political Reform

EA0512174494 Nairobi KTN Television Network in English 1000 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Daniel arap Moi today called on African leaders to embark on finding solutions for the continent's political, economic, and social problems. The president said the problems facing African nations are multidimensional, integrating national and international issues.

President Moi was speaking in Nairobi when he opened a conference on Africa's imperative political and economic agenda.

The chairman of the conference, former Tanzanian president, Mwalimu Julius Kabarage Nyerere, said developing countries must invest in development of their nations in order to attract assistance from the West. President Moi noted that the international community is not very supportive and appears to have double standards when making decisions regarding Africa.

[Begin Moi recording] There should also be a proper understanding of the term opposition so that it does not preclude people of different political parties working together for national development. I could say more but the main point is that political reform must not be approached mechanically and with blind haste. I think the World Bank in this respect must have learned in the past two years that Kenya tried its best to meet their demand but forgot the political aspect. The political side is more important than anything else. If there is no political will, then nothing can move. [end recording]

Uganda

Minister Briefs EC Envoys on Kony Rebels

E40312152894 Kampala THE NEW VISION in English 1 Dec 94 p 1

[By Billie O'Kadameri]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ambassadors and other EEC diplomats accredited to Uganda arrived in Gulu yesterday to assess the level of threat to peace in northern Uganda posed by alleged help to Kony rebels by the Sudanese authority. The diplomats, led by German Ambassador Christian Nakonz whose country holds the EEC rotational presidency, said they were in the north "to get to know better the security situation along the border with Sudan, to assess the effect of the Kony insurgency on the people's life" and to learn more about efforts to end the insurgency.

In a meeting with minister of state in prime minister's office, resident in the north, Mrs. Betty Bigombe, the envoys said they wanted to know to what extent the Sudanese were aiding the Kony rebels and also want to know the strength of the insurgents, civilian factor and government plans to end the problem of insurgency.

Minister Betty Bigombe, flanked by the minister of state for foreign affairs (international cooperation), Mr.

Alphonse Owiny-Dollo, briefed the diplomats in her office about the situation in the north.

She said in the last one month, rebel banditry has died down owing to increased military offensive that forced the rebels to flee to the Sudan, leaving behind about 40 of their number around Kilak Hills. Bigombe said the Sudan Government is using the breakaway rebel Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA)-United Faction of Riak Machar and William Nyuon Bany to supply the rebels with weapons.

She said the rebels had run out of bullets and weapons to sustain a resistance and were at one time willing to come out but were prodded into continued resistance by external assistance. She said government has overwhelming evidence that Sudan is helping Kony.

Danish ambassador to Uganda, Thomas Schjerbjeck wanted to know how government will ensure that despite routine border monitoring, the rebels in Sudan will not be infiltrated back as fleeing "Sudanese" refugees, to which Minister Owiny-Dollo responded that the rebels have a number of youth they forcefully abducted and who would escape at the slightest opportunity if left to mingle freely with genuine Sudanese.

Mrs. Bigombe added that the main government preoccupation now is to make it impossible for Kony to cause disruptions again by creating a hostile environment for the rebels through mobilization and training of home guards. She said life had returned to normal in all parts of Gulu and Kitgum districts and people are continuing with normal activities.

NRA [National Resistance Army] 4th Division commander, Brigadier Shaf Ali said his intelligence estimates put the active rebel number currently in Sudan at 350 capable of engaging in small-time clashes. He said in military science "civilians are the water and the rebels the fish. We have to contaminate the water to rid the fish of its environment and this we are doing by mobilizing and training of civilians." He gave brief history of the northern security problem to the nine diplomats, who included among others, the French ambassador, Francois Descouyette, the Italian envoy, Patrick Kann, Netherlands charge d'affaires and the acting EEC delegate.

The visit of the envoys will cover Gulu and Kitgum, especially the Uganda-Sudan border areas, Lira and a few townships in Kitgum.

Mandela Defends Health, Government Performance

MS1312105594 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 13 Dec 94 p 12

[Report on interview with President Nelson Mandela by Alec Russell in Johannesburg on 12 December]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Nelson Mandela of South Africa brushed aside international concern about his advanced age, health and the pressures of his position yesterday, and insisted that he would remain in office until the next election in 1999.

In an interview with The Daily Telegraph, 76-year-old Mr Mandela defended his government's record and denied recent criticism that he has focused on reconciling whites at the expense of the expectations of his mainly black supporters.

His government was elected on a platform of redressing the inequalities of apartheid. The plan called for free health care for all, more job opportunities, improved education, a huge programme of house-building and electrification and the provision of clean water in the townships and rural areas.

Since April, however, the change has been slower to come than some had hoped, leading to claims by disillusioned radicals that the African National Congress has spent too much time mollifying whites and not enough addressing the problems of its constituency.

"I don't think that is criticism to be taken seriously. We had to allay the fears of whites to ensure the transition process took place smoothly. If we had not done so, the civil war that was threatening would have broken out," he said.

Speaking ahead of the South African launch of his autobiography LONG WALK TO FREEDOM he conceded that there had been moments of doubt when he feared apartheid would never end.

Only last week he let slip a hint of anxiety about his performance since winning April's election. He acknowledged that the ANC had not done all it had hoped for when on the campaign trail.

But when questioned yesterday on the current situation and his thoughts for the future, Mr Mandela was a model of cast-iron certainty, describing the country's progress as "fantastic" and insisting he was satisfied with the rate of change.

"We have done very well," he said. "We have introduced a culture of human rights, of transparency and accountability, and as proof of our policy of reconciliation we have been able to show the transition (from apartheid) going smoothly.

"Although (before the election) there were threats of civil war, threats that had to be taken seriously... because of

our message to whites that they had nothing to fear from democracy we were able to prevent the tragedy."

Since the success of the "negotiated revolution" and the peaceful election, one of the greatest concerns to the international community and indeed many South Africans is what happens after Mandela departs. Rumours this autumn of a secret visit to hospital in Saudi Arabia sent judders through the Johannesburg stock market.

If anything, "the old man" has seemed more indispensable since the election than previously, becoming South Africa's ultimate moral arbiter, whose authority is revered by township activists and Right-wingers alike.

Mr Mandela yesterday clearly wanted to eliminate speculation that he might stand down before 1999. He was adamant he would stay in office for his full five-year term, although he said that would be it, and he would not lead South Africa into the new millennium.

"I am the servant of the people. I will continue for as long as they want me to continue," he said. "But I must add that I am 76. I don't feel that at the end of the next five years a man of my age would like to continue to lead the country."

When challenged on whether the ANC had under-achieved and neglected the impoverished millions of black South Africans, a hint appeared of the inner fire which kept him defiant for 27 years as a political prisoner.

He drummed out a staccato list of the reforms his government has instituted: free medical care for pregnant mothers and children under six, a free feeding scheme for primary schoolchildren, electrification and clean water programmes.

This apparent sign of impatience may have stemmed from an appreciation that in the townships the ANC has been seen as slow to deliver tangible signs of change.

But the note of defensiveness was the exception. With a half sigh, Mr Mandela bemoaned the administrative chaos he had inherited from the National Party, comparing his task to the much simpler one faced by incoming reformist governments in the West.

"One must take into account that when a man like Roosevelt set in place his 'New Deal' (the social welfare programme of 1932) he had an infrastructure to work with. We had to start in a situation where we wanted to address the basic needs of people but where there is no infrastructure at all."

For the majority of the interview Mr Mandela was his usual self-deprecating self. He is always at pains to play down his own role and to emphasise the collective achievements of the ANC.

Asked about his equanimity on emerging from prison in 1990, as ever he paid tribute to his fellow inmates. "It was not so much the inner strength of any individual that

enabled us to go through some of the harshest experiences you can imagine, but that we stood for a good cause," he said.

ANC Hierarchy Backing Mandela's Leadership Plan
MB1012132594 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
9 Dec 94 p 3

[Report by Kaiser Nyatsumba]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Nelson Mandela's plan to ensure that the ANC's new national leadership is ethnically, racially and geographically representative has been endorsed by the party's top structures.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told The Star yesterday that the organisation's national executive committee (NEC) and national working committee (NWC) had given their approval to the proposal.

In an interview with The Star Ramaphosa said the "Mandela Initiative"—details of which were first disclosed in yesterday's Star—was "a brilliant idea that needs to be pursued".

"This, by the way, should not be seen as a way of undermining the democratic process.

"Whatever proposal this staff committee (to draw up a list of NEC candidates) comes up with is just going to be regarded and seen as one of the many proposals that are coming from regions," Ramaphosa said.

Mandela, who has long been concerned that the ANC leadership was not representative enough of the country's population, has appointed the six-member committee headed by the party's deputy president Walter Sisulu to ensure that its new leadership will be "representative of all ethnic and racial groups in the country, as well as both sexes".

Made up of ANC stalwart and deputy president of the Senate Govan Mbeki, SACP [South African Communist Party] general secretary Charles Nqakula, COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] secretary-general Sam Shilowa, South African National Civic Organisations president Lechesa Tsenoli and Health Minister Dr Nkosazana Zuma, the committee will receive nominations for the NEC from the ANC Women's League, the ANC Youth League, the organisation's 14 regions and the ANC's allies.

It will then produce one composite and representative list of candidates, which will be debated and finally endorsed by the December 17-21 congress.

Reliable ANC sources told The Star that Mandela also wanted to ensure that the new ANC was "a truly mass-based organisation and that it remains strong". He is understood to be keen to ensure that the new NEC was made up of "people from all over the country and who represent true constituencies". To this end, Mandela has

suggested that each region should have at least six representatives on the NEC—as opposed to the present two ex-officio members—and that the new leadership "represents all sections in the ANC".

Ramaphosa said in the end the election of new NEC members was "going to be a democratic process".

"The president, as one of the key builders of the ANC, has been concerned about the state of the organisation, and would like to make sure that when the leadership is elected at the conference many issues have been given serious consideration, such as racial composition and gender balance. In terms of raising these considerations he put forward a proposal so that when we go to conference we have a proposal which would be considered with many other proposals in terms of the nominations," he said.

Following The Star's disclosure of the "Mandela Initiative" the ANC issued a brief statement confirming that the committee to which the ANC Youth League has already submitted its nominations—was "continuing smoothly (with its work) and will be able to table a list of nominations at the conference".

The ANC PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] region's nominee for the position of treasurer general, Kgalema Motlanthe, said yesterday he would not be available for the position.

A former chairman of the ANC in the PWV, Motlanthe said his commitments as general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers prevented him from accepting the nomination.

Tension Seen Between ANC Party, Government

MB1012132494 Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN in English 9-14 Dec 94 p 4

[Article by Gaye Davis]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Regional congresses of the ANC have sent the movement's leadership a strong signal in the run-up to its national conference this month: members elected to government should not be charged with running the organisation.

Few ANC MPs or members of provincial legislatures have found themselves re-elected to regional executives in the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging], Eastern Cape, Natal and Free State. While media play has been made out of Free State premier Terror Lekota's ousting as regional ANC chairman, for example, the trend has little to do with a lack of confidence in ANC members elected to government. Instead, it reflects a felt need by ANC members that a strong second-tier leadership should be developed, one able to devote itself full-time to rebuilding an organisation weakened by the exodus of key players to government.

"For government to be effective, we need strong ANC structures on the ground," said a source. "While those

elected must see that the government works, we need people on the ground keeping structures intact and co-ordinating between ANC members inside government and those outside. One of the problems is that there is this distinction growing between the ANC-in-government and the ANC-outside-government. It needs to be understood that these are two levels of the same organisation."

Said another source: "The tension between those inside and outside government is not necessarily unhealthy, but we need to redefine what the ANC is going to be and how to proceed under governance rather than as struggling for the right to govern.

"Conference will see a battle for the heart and soul of the ANC. People feel it is losing its identity and character as a stubborn and consistent defender of the aspirations of the poor and disadvantaged.

"The ANC is committed to a fundamental democratic revolution. We have to ask if this is possible and how we achieve it. We have to look at the role of the ANC now it's in power, as well as that of the alliance. What is the democratic movement, today? What's the role and status of the trades-union movement? Workers feel their demands won't be met whether the ANC or the National Party is in power."

ANC members have been grappling with the complexities of reducing the ANC's erstwhile 14 regions to reflect the country's nine provinces; constitutional amendments to this effect will be ratified at the conference.

While there was clear restlessness and frustration among members who believe constituents bread-and-butter issues were neglected once the ANC came into power, there was also a tendency "for people to sit back and say, we're in power now, let the government do the work", a source said.

This feeds directly into the debate over mass action: whether it is still a weapon to be used to unblock logjams as it was during the negotiations and, if so, what form it should take.

"Mass action does not necessarily mean anti-government action—people can demonstrate in solidarity with the government," said a source. "We used to say that as our leaders negotiated on our behalf, they should be informed by the sound of our footsteps on the ground. There's no difference between negotiations and nation building.

"It's misguided to think the politics of struggle are over. The problems which led to it are still there—homelessness, unemployment, lack of facilities. Parliament is just a new terrain of struggle."

An inherent danger, however, lies in mass action being hijacked by forces both opportunistic and inimical to the ANC—hence the need for tight, well run structures on

the ground and effective communication between the people running them and those in the government.

One option would be to decentralise the ANC's leadership by locking MPs into constituency work at regional level, with this in turn feeding into more cohesion at local level. This could help improve the ANC's relations with civic structures—presently tenuous at best.

Some ANC branches believe this could also be achieved by having the party's national executive committee reflect provincial constituencies in a more even way, where members are directly elected. The national working committee, which acts as a shadow cabinet, will also change: its key members are also cabinet ministers—as such, they can no longer drive it.

Local structures will have to change to reflect boundaries redrawn in local government agreements. ANC members of transitional local councils represent "a whole new strata of people who must be integrated into the organisation," said a source.

The main task of the conference starting next weekend in Bloemfontein will be to come up with policy on the strategies and tactics it should employ to face the challenges ahead: how to manage being in power, without diluting its political programme. Ways of managing reconstruction and development programme delivery and the inevitable tensions that will arise, as well as the need for deft positioning ahead of local government elections, will act as beacons in this regard.

ANC To View Various Issues at Conference

MK Integration, Constitution

MB1012181094 Johannesburg NEW NATION in English 9 Dec 94 p 7

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A growing emphasis on the need for unity in the ANC is beginning to emerge as the organisation prepares itself for its crucial national conference in Bloemfontein in just over a week's time.

To a large measure, this emphasis is a response to rampant speculation in media reports on leadership struggles, as well as the circulation of lists of preferred candidates for top positions in the ANC.

While there may still be some lobbying at the conference itself, the more important debates will, in all likelihood, focus on areas identified by the organisation for debate in at least 11 commissions.

These include a commission which will examine the current stage of the democratic revolution. This will no doubt elicit interesting interventions, especially because the commission's report will have an important bearing on questions relating to building the ANC and the relationship between ANC structures at various levels in government and civil society.

It will also have a bearing on interventions that will probably come in the form of bruising criticisms of the ANC's performance in government during the past eight months.

A separate commission is also expected to look at the constitution-making process and this could also cast some light on the ANC's constitutional preferences for the post-1999 period, when the current government of national unity (GNU) would have run its course.

Reflecting on the current stage of the democratic revolution the discussion paper on strategy and tactics makes it amply clear that much work remains to be done.

While recognising the April elections, in which the ANC scored a substantial victory, the discussion paper says the transfer of power remains incomplete.

The election of April 1994, the establishment of the GNU and the adoption of the transitional constitution amount to a qualitative historical moment in the course of the transfer of political power from a white minority to the democratic majority.

"This moment marked a decisive but not a complete transfer of power," the document says, adding that the democratic majority has won only some of the important elements of political power necessary for the advancement of the struggle towards the "completion of the current phase of the democratic revolution".

While there are general agreement on the limited nature of the transfer of power, questions have been asked as to whether the ANC has exercised that power effectively enough in the past seven months.

PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] chairperson, Tokyo Sexwale, says no. He told NEW NATION that the central question facing the ANC is "are we in power or simply in office?"

He says the "answer lies partly in the manner, the depth and broadness with which we utilise the political office as a tool, as an organ of power to initiate, to influence and to exert change...."

Citing the ministers of safety and security and defence as examples, he asked: "Is the minister viewed as the boss of the army generals or is it the other way round when it comes to the control of the security forces?"

"Is the Police Minister viewed as a kind of sergeant, surrounded by officers?"

He went on to question whether the failure to properly integrate MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe—Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing] soldiers into the South African National Defence Force was excusable.

"Failure to grapple with this reality (that all is not well with the integration process) and the failure to assert authority in this sphere of our national affairs will have

served merely to postpone a time bomb inside the security forces," he warned.

He emphasised that the task of the Bloemfontein conference must be to examine the inability to on the part of the ANC to assert the power it had won [sentence as published].

Sexwale told delegates at the PWV regional conference of the ANC that "at (national) conference, we must help establish strong lobbies around the critical debate on our current and urgent strategic task of asserting power in the various political and strategic offices of governance in which we have been placed by the will of the people...."

Alongside the task of asserting power is the need to transform "state machinery."

The document on strategy and tactics says that the "act of restructuring and transforming organs of state power constitutes one of the most important tasks in the process of broadening and consolidating the national democratic settlement.

"It is with the completion of the process that the revolution can truly be said to have set firm foundations for its permanent defence."

The discussion document recognises the importance of the democratisation of state organs in the overall struggle to ensure leadership in government is not alienated from its popular constituency.

It points out that the civil service is "located at a strategic interaction and communication point between the executive arm of the government and the people.

"Its democratisation is tantamount to opening more effective channels central to ensuring good governance, popular empowerment and effective delivery."

Another issue that is expected to generate lively debate will be around the ANC's vision of a new constitution.

With the next national conference only expected in three years time, long after the Constitutional Assembly [CA] is expected to complete writing the new constitution, the ANC will have to emerge from conference with a vision on what it expects of the CA.

In the context of the debate, the current constitution will almost certainly come in for close scrutiny, especially in areas that relate to the transformation of the public service, proportional representation in parliament and the government of national unity.

An ANC national executive member, who is expected to succeed Jacob Zuma as assistant secretary-general of the ANC, says the conference will have to review the fact that the organisation went into the GNU, "fully understanding our responsibilities and the potentially disastrous consequences of that formula".

She says the conference will have to examine whether the GNU formula has in fact worked or not.

I think we have to look at (FW) de Klerk and the National Party and see whether our bending over backwards to accommodate minorities has generated a willingness on their part to reciprocate.

"We will also have to look at the constitutional question and in that context, what form of government we want.

"And again, the GNU formula is one option we will have to look at."

The history of the GNU and how "our partners in the GNU have conducted themselves will be factors determining the conference's position on that option", the NEC [National Executive Committee] member says.

Consolidating Party 'Character'

MB1012195994 Johannesburg NEW NATION in
English 9 Dec 94 pp 6, 7

[Report by Amrit Manga]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] In just over a week from today, the ANC will convene its first national conference in post-apartheid South Africa.

This is the first time that it will be deliberating on issues not simply as a liberation movement or even a government in waiting, but as the majority component of the government of national unity.

Although many in the ANC argue that the transfer of power remains incomplete, the organisation will have to also focus on consolidating the advances it made as a result of the April 27 elections.

This shift in focus has already found expression in a number of the organisation's strategic documents of—one of which is appropriately titled "From Resistance to Reconstruction".

And this will no doubt form a central theme of the conference.

Despite this massive shift in emphasis, it is unlikely that the conference will focus on elaborating a Morogoro-type strategy and tactics perspective.

In any case, the ANC already has the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) which represents its broad strategic and programmatic perspective.

Beyond the RDP, one of the central challenges facing the movement is reconsolidating the ANC as the leading mass formation within the tri-partite alliance and the broader mass movement.

This challenge arises largely in the context of a range of complexities that the ANC has been grappling with in the past four years since its unbanning.

Since then, it has had to build structures, manage the return of thousands of exiles and then still adapt to a negotiated transition.

On top of those challenges, which have been around for about five years, there have been challenges arising from the reality of managing an ANC that is stretched through a whole range of institutions, such as the national cabinet where it is a leading force, parliament, where it is a major party, nine-provincial level governments—seven of which it dominates, and now transitional local councils. In addition to the institutions of government, the ANC has also had to manage an existence outside of government and parliament.

There has also been influx of members into the organisation from different political tendencies and a significant increase in the size of a stratum of professional politicians.

These realities in themselves have produced a range of challenges—some of an organisational and others of a management kind.

The situation is made more complex by its relationship to other mass democratic formations, such as COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] and the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO), which themselves have to reposition in the context of the changes that the ANC itself has been grappling with.

A significant challenge for the ANC is to manage its relationship with these formations as well as the relationship between its own structures at different levels and varying institutions.

In practice, this means ensuring that ANC branches remain in dynamic contact with what the ANC is doing in government, parliament, the provincial legislatures, etc.

ANC activists concede that while these challenges have presented problems for the ANC, they add that it is important not to lose sight of the fact that they are the consequence of a huge advance made by the organisation—namely the victory at the April poll.

But even this advance will have to be consolidated and the ANC will have to take stock of its victories at the conference if it hopes to preserve these achievements.

To be successful at this level, the ANC will have to emerge from the conference with a programme to deepen its managerial and professional capacity so that it can function as an effective ruling party and deliver.

But that is not all. In deepening its managerial and professional capacity, it will have to maintain the ANC as an effective electoral machine especially in the context of next year's local government elections and, in the longer term, national and provincial elections.

While these are important tasks, it will be a grave error on the part of the organisation if it were to limit itself to being a ruling party and an election machine and discard its mass social movement component.

It would also then betray the massive nation building and reconstruction and development that lie ahead.

Therefore, in addition to delivering a programme that allows it to function as an effective ruling party and maintains it as an electoral machine, the conference will also have to focus on preserving the ANC as a national liberation movement and nation builder in its own right—and also as the vanguard of a broader set of alliances, movements and sectoral struggles.

That necessitates effective branch organisation and cadre development, which a few months ago some in the ANC had argued against.

In the first few months after the elections, there were strong views in the organisation in favour of scaling down the ANC's organisational structures.

But if the draft document on tactics and strategy that will be tabled at the conference for debate is anything to go by, then there appears to be a general acceptance on the need to maintain and even strengthen the ANC mass base.

"It is imperative that we intensify the work of building ANC structures in the localities. These structures should be sufficiently organised to guide and deliver reconstruction and development," the discussion document says.

This, it goes on to argue, will require that the ANC pays special attention to the allround development of a core of cadres, who must play a central role as activists, capable of strengthening the capacity of the movement to discharge its responsibilities during the current phase of struggle.

PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] chairperson Tokyo Sexwale agrees on the need to strengthen ANC structures, saying the organisation "is suffering from the malady of branch fatigue".

Commenting on earlier calls for scaling down of the ANC's mass character, Sexwale said: "We say no to demobilisation of our structures."

He went on to explain that the call for mass participation in the challenge of reconstruction and development should be seen against the need to correctly position the masses "to participate directly in process of delivery around the RDP and to own the process of reconstruction and development".

Equally important is the emphasis on unity and the need for ANC structures—both inside and outside parliament and government—to function as single unit.

The document on strategy and tactics says "care must be taken to ensure a balanced development of cadres to ensure our effective intervention on all fronts, including the governmental, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, with proper co-ordination among all these to ensure that we act as one movement ..."

Elsewhere in the discussion document, the importance of maintaining a united approach is emphasised in similar terms. The document says that the "ANC should ensure that the movement is not seen to be split into various sections—extraparliamentary, parliamentary and executive, or alternatively, national, provincial and local—but as one united movement acting together in pursuit of common goals, regardless of where its members are deployed.

"At all times we should strive to bring the leadership of the ANC and the government closer to the people."

ANC national executive committee member Cheryl Carolus agrees that the organisation must be seen as an undivided unit, adding that it is not entirely correct to speak of an ANC outside parliament, an ANC in government and an ANC outside of parliament [sentence as published].

The notion of a number of ANC's, she explains, emerged in the context of a debate which started off by examining the relationship between the ANC inside and outside government.

But that approach was rejected because of an understanding that there is only one ANC.

"There were, however, different sites of deployment because there were always different sites of struggle.

"What we have now is an additional site of struggle and we have deployed people into this site—but there is one ANC and one discipline," she explains.

The challenge is how to combine the different sites inside government itself, such as the ministry, the standing committee etc., to carry that policy position and manage it.

This is especially important in the context of the GNU [government of national unity], where there will naturally be opposition to certain positions.

This emphasis on the need to maintain contact between leadership and the popular base of the ANC is also important if the organisation is to deal effectively with a growing tendency among supporters to passively sit back and call on the organisation's leaders to deliver.

In part, the problems associated with the repeated calls on the ANC from its constituency to deliver is of its own making. It was the ANC that told its supporters that it would deliver if they elected it into government.

Instead the emphasis should have been on how the ANC, in and out of government, collectively transforms the country.

Only a strong extra-governmental ANC, which leads social struggles and programmes of action, will counter this tendency towards passivity on the part of the mass base.

It will also generate an understanding and appreciation of the challenges facing government.

The document on strategy and tactics recognises this as important as well, saying: "It's only by involving them that the masses will appreciate the challenges facing the government and the tasks that lie ahead. It is only by involving them that they can truly claim to be owners and custodians of the democratic reconstruction and development process."

This unambiguous emphasis that "the character and strength of the ANC must continue to reside in its mass base" is evident throughout the discussion paper.

It goes on to argue that the "character of the ANC should continue to derive from the correct characterisation of the current phase of the democratic revolution.

"The main content of this phase," it says, "continues to be the all-round political, economic and social emancipation and upliftment of the black majority."

At the same time, it remains committed to a working class bias, saying that the character of the ANC should also derive from the main motive forces of the democratic transformation.

"These forces are represented by the black working class, the black rural poor and the significant section of the black middle strata. These are the forces which possess the best political and ideological potential to lead and defend the process of transformation.

There is also a clear recognition of the importance of strengthening the alliance and ensuring the centrality of the ANC in this alliance.

"Today the task of building the organisational and political strength of the ANC is inseparable from the successful implementation of the RDP.

"This capacity," it says, "cannot depend only on the ANC's organisational structures. Of themselves, these structures are inadequate for the task."

Buthelezi Reiterates Support for Zulu Monarchy

MB1112194394 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1800 GMT 11 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi has reiterated his support for the monarchy, lashing out at claims that he and the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] are using King Goodwill for political purposes. Speaking at a rally at Pongola in northern KwaZulu/Natal, Dr. Buthelezi said he loved and respected the king as he had always done.

[Begin Buthelezi recording] My appeal to you is that we should not allow those who are trying to destroy our institution of the monarchy and to split up the Zulu nation to succeed. [end recording]

Dr. Buthelezi also hit out at what he called cheap talk that accused the IFP of using the king to win the elections in KwaZulu/Natal. He said that while he had always revered the monarch he had never needed him to fight his political battles for him.

PAC President Upbeat on Upcoming Congress

MB1212083194 Johannesburg WEEKEND STAR in English 10-11 Dec 94 p 7

[Report by Tefo Mothibeli]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Next week's fifth annual national congress of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania in Mmabatho will make, not break, the organisation as some observers believe, says the organisation's president Clarence Mlamli Makwethu.

Speaking from his office in the organisation's Johannesburg headquarters this week, Makwethu said he envisaged the emergence of a "fortified" PAC at the end of the four-day congress.

Of persistent rumours that there was serious internal bickering which threatened the existence of the PAC, Makwethu said: "There is nobody who has the strength to destroy the PAC. I know of no bickering except through the media"

Makwethu, asked how confident he was that he would retain the presidency of the organisation, said he did not have any nightmares over the matter. "In fact, I'm losing a lot by being here (as president). I had a very good job before and I'm doing this because it is a national issue."

Of his rumoured rivals (advocate Dikgang Moseneke, Phillip Ata Kgosana, Dr Sipho Shabalala and former PAC United Nations representative Motsoko Pheko) for the leadership of the organisation, Makwethu said the people who nominated them had not done their homework properly. Most of the nominees had in the past declined to stand for certain positions earmarked for them in the organisation due to other commitments. "I personally invited them to this office and they gave me reasons that could be accepted by anyone for declining to serve in the organisation," he said.

Makwethu jokingly told Weekend Star that he was prepared to lead the PAC at least until he was around 80 "if the masses so wish".

Asked whether the militant PAC splinter group, the "Revolutionary Watchdogs", posed any significant threat to the organisation during the congress, Makwethu smiled and said "I don't think they are that strong and in fact most of them have come back home."

The PAC's poor showing in South Africa's first nonracial national election in April, the question of whether to retain a liberation movement character or to transform

the PAC into a political party, local government elections, the 1999 general election and leadership elections are among several issues to be deliberated on at the upcoming congress.

Asked whether he would like a shakeup of the current leadership, Makwethu said: "I am prepared to work with anyone, including the present leadership." But some sources believe that the PAC's general-secretary, !Khoisan X, who is charged with maladministration of the organisation, and deputy president Johnson Mlambo will not survive the axe.

Sources further believe that an extensive recruitment campaign is imperative if the PAC is to survive as a political force.

Makwethu said he was confident "the new PAC" would sweep the boards in next year's first nonracial local government elections and would carry this through to the 1999 general election.

PAC Leadership Said Facing 'Crisis'

MB1112171694 Johannesburg NEW NATION in English 9 Dec 94 p 5

[Report by Jimmy Seepe]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Next weekend's PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] national conference will be dominated by the crisis facing the organisation's leadership, which would be completely overhauled in order to revamp the party and prepare it for a more active role in the next few years.

A highly placed source within the organisation told NEW NATION that the party was approaching next week's congress plagued by a leadership crisis.

Current PAC president, Clarence Makwetu, will almost certainly lose his position if a strong contender could be found. But despite his unpopularity, Makwetu is said to be determined to contest the position of president.

"Makwetu feels that there is currently no credible contender to oppose his presidency within the PAC," according to the source.

"He knows that he is unpopular but is hopeful that delegates will have to re-elect him because of the lack of a credible alternative."

Advocate Dikgang Moseneke, former deputy president of the PAC, was approached to take over from Makwetu but he turned down the offer.

Sources in the PAC this week told NEW NATION that it was highly unlikely that Moseneke would return to a leadership position in the PAC because he remained disgruntled at the lack of clear strategic thinking in the organisation.

Moseneke is said to have stepped down from his position as deputy president because of disagreement over whether the PAC should continue the armed struggle or not.

Moseneke, together with other leaders within the movement, are said to have favoured the abandonment of the armed struggle since 1991 after the return of the organisation's leaders from exile.

But they were opposed by militants in the organisation who believed the PAC could win away support from the ANC by continuing the armed campaign.

With Moseneke having turned down the offer, attention has now been focused on Dr Sipho Tshabalala and Philip Kgosana who have not yet indicated whether they will run for the presidency. They are both favourites within the PAC regions, according to the source. But Kgosana, who is currently working for the United Nations, would not be able to contest the position because his work contract expires in two years.

The secretary-general position and political affairs positions are also up for grabs. Strong favourites for the two positions are said to be Dr Peter Mayende, Maxwell Nemaadivhanani and Bamba Ndandwe. According to the source, they have not yet accepted the nominations.

It had still not been decided as to who will occupy the deputy presidency. Although Johnson Mlambo is still favoured to retain the position, there is a feeling among most regions that he lacks aggressiveness and charisma to lead the organisation.

"The PAC must come up with a clear vision that would transform the organisation into be a better alternative to the ANC," said the source. "Next week's election of the leadership would decide whether the organisation would emerge from its current political obscurity."

"The organisation must therefore reconcile differences within its structures if it is to emerge as a credible party."

Another concern that worries most people within the PAC is its poor performance within parliament. "It has adopted a timid approach inside parliament. They (five PAC Members of Parliament) have not demonstrated the same vibrancy the party was associated with before the elections."

It also remains to be seen whether the coming conference would be able to close ranks with its youth organisations, the Pan African Student Organisation (Paso) and the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), which were not consulted when the organisation abandoned the armed struggle.

According to the source, another grouping which should be given a place at the congress is the Revolutionary Watchdogs. Although they do not represent a large following, the source said they have proven that they can disrupt the PAC's work.

Plans Noted To Establish Party To Oppose ANC

*MB1112205494 Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans
11 Dec 94 p 10*

[Report by Z.B. du Toit]

[FBIS Translated Text] Plans for the establishment of a full-fledged workers' party to oppose the ANC alliance will be taken a step further this week.

Socialists who believe the ANC has sold out workers and the South African Communist Party [SACP] has deserted socialism will debate the establishment of a new party at a Cape congress. Overseas socialists also will attend the meeting.

A spokesman for the Workers' Organization for Socialist Action (WOSA) says: "We have actually already decided to establish a workers' party. The question is when."

WOSA is organizing the congress in conjunction with other groups, including the Independent Socialist Movement and the Workers' List Party. There is a great deal of interest in whether the ANC-aligned NUMSA [National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa] will react positively to the invitation issued to it. NUMSA, the country's largest trade union, decided last year it would leave the ANC alliance after the election and throw its weight behind plans for a workers' party. However, nothing has been said about these plans since.

The truck drivers' union, Rolling Wheels [name as published], responsible a few months ago for large-scale disruptions on several freeways, will officially attend the congress.

Reports of dissatisfaction in the ANC over so-called excessive reconciliation with whites make WOSA believe the time is ripe for the establishment of a workers' party. "Time is on our side," says a WOSA spokesman who does not want to be named. WOSA believes there is overwhelming evidence that the ANC is not meeting its election promises and that increasing support will flow to the left as a result of this. WOSA also believes the recent wave of strikes is proof of the dissatisfaction.

A member of WOSA's management in the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging], Brian Ramadiro, says the ANC alliance is deeply divided. WOSA is stronger than it was during the election, in which it participated only as a means of announcing its socialist program.

Ramadiro says the leaders of COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions]-affiliated unions have strong ties with the ANC but large numbers of ordinary trade union members are increasingly moving away from this sentiment. He warns that these leaders may eventually find themselves leading trade unions without much support.

RAPPORT was told directly that in WOSA ranks they believe the ANC has deserted its members. The ANC

was never a socialist organization but a nationalist one. The SACP also has deserted socialism by working together with the ANC in the "capitalist" Government of National Unity.

WOSA rejects SACP claims that it already represents the workers. The SACP is making a mistake with its two-phased strategy, in which it first wants to liberate the country and then fight for socialism. "That has not worked anywhere," according to a WOSA spokesman. "Socialism should only be ushered through in one phase."

—Socialists believe in nationalization, increased taxes on big companies, and the scrapping of state debt.

'Decisionmakers' Polled on Various Issues

*MB0912183494 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1449
GMT 09 Dec 94*

[Report by Dirk van Zyl]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Cape Town Dec 9 SAPA—Almost two-thirds of top decision-makers in South Africa want Cape Town to remain the site of Parliament, an opinion survey released on Friday [9 December] has shown. The survey, conducted country-wide by Stellenbosch University's Centre for International and Comparative Politics between July and September this year, also shows a high level of ignorance amongst decision-makers about AIDS.

The proposed Truth and Reconciliation Commission was found to be the most divisive issue of the four subjects addressed in the poll.

The majority of supporters of all political parties except the African National Congress agreed that it was not South Africa's duty to receive refugees from Africa.

The survey, under the direction of Stellenbosch University's political science head, Professor Hennie Kotze, has been conducted annually since 1989 and targets individuals occupying top positions in eight different sectors of society, ranging from agriculture and bureaucracy to business, the churches, the media, MPs and senators and the military.

Prof Kotze said a "relatively good" response rate of 40 per cent (588) was achieved from 1,457 individuals approached and the margin of error was put at three percent.

A majority of supporters from all parties agreed that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission should investigate all crimes—among liberation forces and apartheid supporters—but the Freedom Front and the white right-wing showed less enthusiasm than other parties.

The breakdown was: NP [National Party]—77.5 percent; DP [Democratic Party]—83.5; right-wing—65.4; ANC—80.4; FF [Freedom Front]—70.6; and IFP

[Inkatha Freedom Party]—83.3. Among those who did not want to reveal their affiliation the percentage was 94.8.

Eighty-five per cent of ANC supporters felt the Truth Commission would further the process of reconciliation in South Africa, while only 11 per cent of NP supporters felt this way. Other parties' percentages on the matter were: DP—42.7; right-wing—3.8; FF—8.8; IFP—16.7.

On the siting of Parliament, 62.2 per cent of respondents felt it should remain in Cape Town, with 30.3 per cent favouring a move to Pretoria. A further 6.3 percent were uncertain.

The geographic spread (encompassing South Africa's four old provinces) showed that even among Transvalers a majority felt Parliament should remain in Cape Town—47.1 per cent. [sentence as received]

The percentages for the other provinces were: Free State—64.7 (Cape Town) and 26.5 (Pretoria); Cape—87.4 and 10.2; Natal—69.6 and 15.9.

On AIDS, respondents were divided as to whether regular tests for the disease should be compulsory for all South Africans.

The breakdown was: NP—39.8 percent agreed and 39.5 disagreed, with 20.8 being uncertain; DP—23.3 agreed and 63.1 disagreed; right-wing—65.4 and 30.7; ANC—39.2 and 40.2; FF—53 and 27.4; IFP 50 and 45.9; non-affiliated—27.5 and 65.6.

The racial breakdown on this question was: whites—34.8 agreed and 47.8 disagreed; blacks—53.4 and 32.9; coloureds—50 and 35.7; Indians—45 each way.

Eighty-eight percent of right-wing and Freedom Front supporters felt employees tested positive for AIDS should inform their employers, while 47.6 percent of ANC supporters, 80.5 per cent of NP supporters and 79.1 of IFP supporters felt this way.

A total of 59.8 per cent of ANC supporters felt it was South Africa's duty to receive refugees from Africa, while majorities among all the other parties' supporters felt it was not: NP—83.5; DP—64; right-wing—100; FF—94.1; IFP—79.1. The percentage for the non-affiliated group was 67.3 percent feeling it was not South Africa's duty.

None of the respondents identified themselves as being Pan Africanist Congress supporters.

Prof Kotze said a feature of the poll was that it showed that the Democratic Party had significantly higher support among the decision-makers than was reflected in its parliamentary representation. And there were relatively fewer blacks among the decision-makers, but the proportion was increasing.

Survey Canvasses Opinions on Truth Commission

MB1012160294 Johannesburg WEEKEND STAR in English 10-11 Dec 94 p 11

[Report by Clive Sawyer]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Cape Town—Controversy about the truth and reconciliation commission threatens to uncap the intolerance seething just beneath the surface of South Africa's political scene.

This emerges from a survey of opinion leaders in various fields. Hennie Kotze, the Stellenbosch academic who led the survey, said most people outside the ANC believed the commission would worsen the potential for conflict in South Africa. The commission was seen as an "ANC domain".

Professor Kotze said a recent survey by the Institute for a Democratic South Africa had revealed a huge degree of intolerance. He called for the extremely sensitive issue of the commission to be handled with care, lest the situation get out of hand, to the point that vigilantes would be on the street seeking revenge for apartheid-era crimes.

The media should join efforts to ensure disclosures to the commission did not lead to violence, by refraining from sensationalist coverage of proceedings.

Disclosing results of his own survey yesterday, Kotze said the pattern of attitudes among opinion leaders clearly showed the work of the commission was "one of the most high-risk exercises in the recent political life of South Africa".

The task of the commission was such that only the most competent and respected people should serve as commissioners.

It should be a representative body to gain legitimacy.

The commission should not have the authority to offer amnesty in exchange for confessions or information.

Most respondents from the National Party [NP] (79 percent), the extra-parliamentary right wing (100 percent), the Freedom Front [FF] (88 percent) and the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] (79 percent) believed the commission would aggravate the historical situation.

Kotze said it seemed those in the right wing felt they had the most to fear from the activities of the commission.

An analysis of racial groups showed that almost 66 percent of white people thought the commission meant risking further conflict, while just less than 73 percent of black people wanted it to go ahead. Most black people believed the commission would further the process of reconciliation, while 50 percent of coloured people and 23 percent of whites thought the same.

Supporters of the Democratic Party [DP] were divided, with 43 percent indicating that such a commission would worsen the situation and 41 percent disagreeing.

Predominantly, supporters of the ANC (81 percent) believed the commission would not worsen the situation.

About 85 percent of the ANC respondents believed the commission would further the process of reconciliation.

The ANC was divided on whether information uncovered by the commission should be referred to the criminal courts.

Most supporters of the NP, DP, right wing, FF and IFP said there should be no follow-up prosecutions in the courts.

UK Says No Decision Made on Helicopter Bids

MB1212134494 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 12 Dec 94 p 1

[FBIS Transcribed Text] London—The UK Defence Ministry said yesterday that no decision had been made on which attack helicopter would be ordered for the British army.

A spokesman was commenting on a Sunday Times report that SA's [South Africa's] Rooivalk [red falcon] was virtually ruled out of the 2bn pounds contract for 91 gunships because of a U.S. ban on fitting it with the Hellfire anti-tank missile.

"It is early days yet. The bids are still being evaluated and assessed by the army and we will not know the outcome until about the middle of next year." It was "speculative" to assume the Hellfire, made by McDonnell-Douglas, was a prerequisite for winning the order. "There are other missiles in the running and they are all being looked at."

Kathryn Strachan reports that Armscor said it was involved in discussions with the U.S. State Department. The U.S. has demanded that Armscor [Armaments Corporation of South Africa] give evidence against sanctions busters who supplied weapons in defiance of U.S. Laws. It is also demanding that Armscor pay up to R80m [rands] in fines.

Armscor spokesman Bertus Cilliers said he could not comment further as the matter was subjudice.

Navy Maneuvers With Indian Warships Canceled

MB1212134794 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1100 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The South African Navy says that a technical problem with one of its submarines caused joint exercises with the Indian Navy off the Cape Peninsula to be canceled. A Navy spokesman says the safety factor with submarines is too high to take risks. Two Indian warships, the Gomati and the Khukri, left Simonstown today after a three-day goodwill visit.

South African Press Review for 12 Dec

MB1212135894

[Editorial Report]

CAPE TIMES

Call for Greater Budget for Police Force—"The police force is too small," according to most South Africans in

all race groups interviewed in a CAPE TIMES/Omnichack survey, says a page 6 editorial in Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 7 December. "Rather than seeking to play down the extent of crime, the best course is to tackle the problem head on. The public perception is correct. The police force is indeed too small. If government spending is to be cut in next year's budget, the police vote should be an exception. It is vital in the national interest that the resources made available for police services be significantly increased."

THE CITIZEN

Call for 'More Vigorous' NP Role—Like the ANC that is divided between "the populists and the pragmatists, between the supporters of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa," so too the National Party, NP, is divided between "those who favour not rocking the boat and those who want to see the party play a more vigorous role both in and outside the government," says the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 8 December. The paper believes that while NP ministers "are bound by Cabinet decisions, the Party should fight in Parliament and from public platforms for what it believes in." The NP "must re-define its role now that it has lost power and serves as a junior partner in the government of national unity."

Criticism of Namibian Debt Write-Off—"We can only hope that the ANC will settle down to following a 'South Africa first' policy in relation to neighbouring countries in which the interests of South Africa are paramount," says the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 9 December. The paper refers to the government decision to write off Namibia's 700 million rand debt, noting "just how many homes you could build for the homeless, how many clinics you could put up for those deprived of medical care, and how you could help to ease the plight of the poor if you only had that R700 million." "There are other ways to help Namibia, if help is indeed necessary, than by throwing away hundreds of millions of rands for no real reason."

THE STAR

Mandela Delivers 'Sobering Message'—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 12 December in a page 12 editorial comments on President Mandela's tour of informal settlements in Gauteng where he made two important points, that "promises made could not be fulfilled overnight, and that there were fiscal constraints to what could be achieved. Given signs of impatience with the pace of change, especially among the ANC's own followers, Mandela's decision to personally deliver the sobering message could not have come too soon and in a more appropriate place." It is an example which "should be followed by his lieutenants in the ANC leadership. Open communication with the public will prove to be an indispensable tool in the days ahead."

SOWETAN

Media Battles—"The Argus company will survive the sudden resignation of THE STAR's Richard Steyn but the scars to journalism and freedom of expression will be deep," declares a page 16 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 12 December. "It is an open secret there is a cabal intent on having newspapers run by accountants and their assorted brokers. They have the mistaken view that newspapers are like any other product and should be driven by market forces." SOWETAN's "greatest concern" is that Steyn's resignation and other "media battles in the offing may prompt the Government to interfere at a delicate stage of our democratic revolution."

Katz Tax Commission Proposals 'Job Well Done'—A second editorial on the same page says the Katz Tax Commission chose a "middle-of-the-road approach in its recommendations to the Government." The recommendations "seem to be in line with the current spirit in the Government of National Unity where the priority is to accommodate diverse interests. The commission was faced with a tricky balancing act and, in the circumstances, it must be commended for a job well done."

BUSINESS DAY

Katz Commission Proposals—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 12 December in a page 6 editorial also refers to the Katz Commission Tax proposals, saying Katz "has inadequately addressed the issue of how the large number of individuals and businesses that operate in the informal sector will be brought into the tax net." The tax commissioners also "appeared less than frank when they denied that the proposed new tax on corporate assets was a wealth tax. The fact is that a tax on companies' gross assets will tend to discourage the very investment in assets that the present secondary tax on companies is designed to encourage. Worse, it is another disincentive for firms operating in the informal sector to shift to the formal where creation of sustainable jobs is more likely." Ultimately though, "even if Katz's proposals are accepted, will government implement them as a whole? Or will it simply do what its predecessors did—pick and choose among the proposals and leave us with the worst of all worlds?"

South African Press Review for 13 Dec

MB1312131494

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

Editor's Resignation 'Portent of Worse to Come'—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 12 December in its page 6 editorial says it had previously warned against the "taking over of Argus Newspapers by Mr O'Reilly, who in addition to being top man of Heinz foods in America and a multi-millionaire, owns the Independent Newspapers group in Ireland. He is a

hardheaded businessman who puts profits before any other considerations." It is for this reason that Richard Steyn, editor-in-chief of THE STAR, resigned. O'Reilly "promised at the outset not to interfere with the editorial independence of editors in his group. The whole manner in which he is now exercising control suggests that editors are, in fact, not going to be independent." THE CITIZEN believes Steyn's resignation "is, sadly, a portent of worse to come."

THE STAR

Warning Against One-Party State in Namibia—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 13 December in a page 18 editorial comments on the South-West African People's Organization, SWAPO, two-thirds majority achievement in this latest election, noting that it can now "unilaterally" amend the Namibian constitution. President Nujoma "is obviously aware that SWAPO will face criticism over any one-sided tampering. He has given the assurance that 'no individual will decide whether the constitution needs changing, all Namibians will ultimately decide.' That's all good and well, but history shows that terrible things have been done in the name of the people. One of them is prolonging the term of office of the leader. This may have appeal initially, but such a development may spawn dictatorial tendencies. The one-party state, too, has caused havoc in Africa."

SOWETAN

PAC, Azapo Face Leadership Crisis—"While the ANC is likely to come out strong and united from its congress, the same cannot be said of the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], which has its indaba [meeting] in Mmabatho, and Azapo [Azanian People's Organization], which has picked QwaQwa for its conference," states a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 13 December. The two organizations "have a crisis of leadership. It will be after this crisis has been resolved that both Azapo and the PAC can deliver agreed upon programmes for the next year or years."

BUSINESS DAY

University Loan Scheme—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 13 December in a page 8 editorial comments on the proposal to divert 50 million rands from university subsidies into a bursary and loan scheme for disadvantaged students, saying: "Around R80m in fees went unpaid in 1992, and R137m last year, making it clear the rechannelled amount will not go very far. And in attempting to show it is doing something positive, government runs the risk of further inflating unrealistic expectations." What is called for is "a comprehensive national loan scheme with a reliable 'graduate tax' repayment mechanism."

CITY PRESS

No Confidence in Justice System—"Just this week a group of enraged women in Chesterville near Durban

hunted down suspected rapists/murderers and killed two of them," notes a page 14 editorial in Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English on 11 December. "These rising incidents of instant justice by otherwise law abiding citizens tell us that something is seriously flawed with our justice system. Ordinary citizens no longer have any confidence in it." "Criminals are now contemptuous of our justice system," and CITY PRESS finds it "disturbing" that the cabinet is contemplating passing a bill in 1995 to abolish the death sentence. It would be "imprudent to pass such a bill while South Africa is in the grip of this violence."

CAPE TIMES

Criticism of Illegal Occupation of Empty Buildings—"If people were allowed to move into any vacant building they find, or indeed on to any privately-owned land, then there would be no security of property ownership for anyone, however humble," declares a page 6 editorial in Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 8 December. "That is why the illegal occupants of Claridge Court had to leave after their six-week's stay. A court order is a court order. The day it no longer has enforceable power is the day that law itself collapse. It is reassuring that the leading government spokesmen have associated themselves with this principle."

BEELD

Deteriorating Health Services—"The problems being experienced by the country in providing quality service to the sick is cause for concern," notes an editorial on page 12 of Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 8 December. "A shocking picture is emerging of the deterioration in state hospitals. Skilled personnel who have to treat more and more patients are becoming fewer, are overworked, and mostly underpaid. The financial crisis this country finds itself in means that essential equipment cannot always be purchased, replaced, or repaired, and that in turn places a further burden on health care. Unrealistic demands by trade unions regarding salaries and working conditions do not make matters any easier. Everything points to a serious malaise in South Africa's health services."

Conflicting Statements Must Stop—"The year of confusing signals—that's how one could describe South Africa under the new management," writes Willie Kuhn in his "Political Beeld" column on page 10 of Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 9 December. "It is part of

the learning process of a new generation of leaders," but "the problem is that it can cause great uncertainty in a country which is going through a highly uncertain and sometimes explosive transition." "President Nelson Mandela has himself sent out confusing signals—on nationalization. In America he confirmed that it is no longer ANC policy, but recently back home in South Africa he gave the impression that the ANC still has left the back door open. This may be mere political rhetoric; after all, the ANC congress lies ahead. But if the president has not yet learned that to the international community nationalization is as much a monster as was apartheid, he has learned little during his overseas travels." Kuhn adds: "This week Housing Minister Joe Slovo uttered beautifully correct statements on the law which must be applied against squatters and rent boycotters. But then he added that he is personally not a supporter of property rights," which was "Mr. Slovo's communist slip showing." Some would see in this type of thing "a clever political strategy bordering on conspiracy: send out a positive signal and then a very negative one, and negotiate from there for a compromise." "The government will find that it is much more difficult to exercise real freedom than to merely speak about it. Hopefully, it will also discover that opportunistic political statements in the end are not in the speaker's or the country's interests."

Help to Angola Expected—An editorial on the same page says the cabinet has decided in principle that South African soldiers may be deployed in Angola under the UN umbrella in a non-combative role. "It seems the National Party decided to support the decision after initially being opposed to South African assistance to Angola." The concern seems to have been over South Africa's role in Angola in the seventies and eighties, but "today we have a totally different political order, in South Africa, in Angola, in the world. Now the world expects South Africa, as a regional power, to play a role in ending the human suffering there." Beyond that, "experts believe that Angola has tremendous economic potential with its oil and diamonds. South Africa is in an excellent position to share its expertise and entrepreneurship as part of a greater effort to relieve Angola of its misery, to the mutual benefit of both countries. But that can only happen if the security situation in that country has been stabilized. And that is why South Africa's assistance is being requested now." Should the latest UN initiative fail, and South Africa is then asked to send fighting troops, "the cabinet would have to decide anew, and that decision could well be totally different from the present one."

Angola**UN Spokesman on Observers, Joint Commission***MB1212174394 London BBC World Service in English
1515 GMT 12 Dec 94*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] More cease-fire violations have been reported in Angola today in spite of the arrival in Luanda of the first batch of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] officials to take part in the Joint Peace Commission set up under the Lusaka Accord. The commission itself still hasn't got down to work, and the United Nations says it won't be sending a peace-keeping force to Angola until it is sure the cease-fire is holding. On the line to Luanda, Alice Martin asked the UN spokesman in Angola, Joao de Albuquerque, when he was expecting the first military observers to arrive.

[Begin recording] [Albuquerque] The first 68 military observers and policemen—40 military observers and 28 policemen—will come in a week's time. The rest of them in three weeks' time. So over 360 military observers and 126 policemen, civil policemen, will be here in three weeks' time.

[Martin] Do you think that is going to be enough?

[Albuquerque] It is not enough because the secretary general of the United Nations, Dr. Butrus-Ghali, will proceed with his recommendations to the Security Council. So troops will come to Angola in the future.

[Martin] What is happening to the work of the Joint Commission? UNITA have been in Luanda for over a week now and it doesn't seem to be very much coming out of that joint commission.

[Albuquerque] The Joint Commission continues its work in working groups. Working groups are still in progress, exchanging documents from UNITA and the government, are still examining all the documents and have a consensus. The United Nations will call for a plenary session and that can happen next week.

[Martin] As far as you are concerned, something is happening, even though we don't see anything happening?

[Albuquerque] Well, probably because you are so far away, but a lot of things are happening. Thank you for the question. I think we should put more Angola in the newspapers, in radio, and television abroad. We can facilitate to you information provide you can also understand that the United Nations are working hard here. [end recording]

UNITA Official: 'Pending Issues' Resolved*MB1212205794 Luanda TPA Television Network in
Portuguese 1930 GMT 12 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] The pending issues after the signing of the Lusaka Protocol already have been

resolved. The government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] delegations now are waiting for the return of mediator Alioune Blondin Beye to resume the Joint Commission's proceedings. This was said by Isaias Samakuva, head of the UNITA Joint Commission delegation.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Mr. Isaias Samakuva, we would like to take this opportunity to ask you if some of the pending issues after the Lusaka Protocol's signing already have been resolved.

[Samakuva] I think so. We made enormous progress last week. Although we still have some issues to resolve, I would say that we already have overcome many issues.

[Correspondent] Were the issues connected with the confinement of UNITA forces and the emergency police?

[Samakuva] There were other pending issues in Lusaka connected with the armed forces that also were discussed last week.

[Correspondent] Many of these issues have, therefore, been resolved?

[Samakuva] Many of the issues already have been resolved.

[Correspondent] When will the normal implementation of the Lusaka Accords begin?

[Samakuva] We hope it will begin as soon as possible. We are waiting for the return of Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye. We think he will return tomorrow, and from there I think the Joint Commission's proceedings will take their normal course. [end recording]

Urges UN To Deploy Observers Soon*MB1312102794 London BBC World Service in
Portuguese 2030 GMT 12 Dec 94*

[From the "Ultima Hora" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] Brigadier Isaias Samakuva, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] representative to the Joint Commission, spoke to the BBC's Reginaldo Silva in Luanda today. In the interview, Samakuva said though the Joint Commission had not met again in plenary session one week after it had been set up in Luanda, the UNITA members have not been at all inactive and he rejected rumors of any boycott. Brig. Samakuva added that all hinges on UN Special Representative Alioune Blondin Beye's return to Luanda. Blondin Beye is also Joint Commission chairman. Isaias Samakuva expressed concern about increasing reports on alleged cease-fire violations and he added that something must be done urgently to establish who is the real cease-fire violator.

[Begin recording] [Samakuva] The incidents continued to take place and up to a point we regarded them as normal, but we have since then come across a growing

number of violations and unfortunately all verification mechanisms have not been deployed on the ground yet, thereby not allowing accusations by both sides to be verified. What is more, this situation also does not allow the identity of the real violator to be established.

[Silva] Mr. Isaias Samakuva: for all intents and purposes, the Lusaka protocol advised the two sides—and the General Staffs on both sides—to make every effort to overcome these big or small problems by themselves during these early stages. Exactly what is being done at this point concerning the establishment of communication between the military leaderships on both sides?

[Samakuva] As you know, the establishment of such links necessitates the presence of a neutral organization. However, we have tried to convey our concerns in the contacts the leaders in the Joint Commission have had every day.

[Silva] How do you view the UN Security Council's decision concerning the Angolan issue? Do you think such a decision is restrictive or do you view it as normal? There are also concerns about the way the international community is approaching the process at this stage.

[Samakuva] From my point of view, all those things are paradoxical to a certain extent. By that I mean that it would be necessary for observers to be on the ground from the start to ensure success in this process. Now, the present situation could allow those whom we might refer to as the enemies of peace to carry out attacks and other violations which, in turn, could prevent the coming of UN observers to Angola. Thus, our concern is that this situation could yet contribute to the derailment of the peace process.

[Silva] In short, do you regard as disappointing the role played by the United Nations so far?

[Samakuva] I would not go so far as to label it disappointing. Be that as it may, it is my belief that more expedite mechanisms could have been found to help render the cease-fire agreement more solid. [end recording]

UNITA Welcomes UN Choice To Exclude RSA Troops

MB1312084494 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 0600 GMT 13 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel has learned from well-informed sources that the Joint Commission, the principal body overseeing the implementation of the Lusaka Accord, continues to work in Luanda concerning a number of issues which were not finalized in the Zambian capital. Those sources noted that the work is being done by specialist commissions including National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], Angolan Government, and UN representatives.

A source in the UN Angola Verification Mission [Unavem] has gone so far as to say that the proceedings have gone off in a good atmosphere so far, adding that both sides remain committed to their work despite the fact that UN Special Representative Alioune Blondin Beye is away at this stage. Joint Commission meetings are being chaired by Unavem-2 Chief General Chris Garuba. The work of the Joint Commission could be made easier with the deployment of UN observers—or, in other words, when the United Nations has created the necessary mechanisms to verify the implementation of the General Peace Accord.

Meanwhile, UNITA does not support the view expressed recently by Deputy Foreign Minister Dr. Jorge Chikoty that soldiers from southern African countries should participate in the Angolan peace process outside the UN umbrella. To UNITA, the issue of accord implementation verification and supervision is quite clear: it must be left up to the United Nations, which has assumed the responsibility of sending independent soldiers and observers to this country. Those soldiers and observers will have the specific mission of verifying the implementation of the accord.

Those UNITA sources have also said that the United Nations must urgently send the 500 observers mentioned in the latest UN Security Council resolution issued on 8 December.

In another development, the Angolan people saluted UN Secretary General Dr. Butrus Butrus-Ghali on his decision yesterday that the Republic of South Africa should not participate in the UN peacekeeping force to Angola. With that move, all awkward developments likely to arise from the presence of South African troops in Angola will have been prevented.

Border With Namibia Closed After 'Armed Incidents'

MB1012202194 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 10 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The People's Television of Angola news desk has just received a report saying that the Angolan-Namibian border has been closed in the wake of armed incidents. There have been no official reactions on the matter yet. [passage omitted]

Botswana

Okavango River Reportedly Drying Up

MB0512074194 Gaborone Radio Botswana Network in English 0510 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A senior official with the Department of Water Affairs says the water situation in the Okavango River has been worsening over the years, reaching an all-time low of 10 million cubic meters during the 1993-94 hydrological year.

The official, Mr. (Isaac Mobila), told BOPA [Botswana Press Agency] that the flood strength of the Okavango has been declining over the years. He said under normal circumstances floods from the delta reach Maun around April and May, but over the past few years the floods has been arriving as late as August and September.

Mr. (Mobila) also said that in a normal situation the average annual flow of the Okavango has been 300 million cubic meters. He explained that the little inflows into the river were due to the minimum rainfall that [words indistinct] into the Thamalakane River. He also said that the decreasing water situation has also affected the (Santlantladibe), Nghabe, and Boteti Rivers.

Mozambique

Chissano on 'Special Status' for Dhlakama

MB1212135494 Maputo Voz da Renamo in Portuguese
1100 GMT 12 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] President of the Republic Joaquim Chissano said in Maputo yesterday that the special status promised to Afonso Dhlakama, the runner-up in the October presidential elections, will come into force once the new government has been formed. The Mozambican head of state announced this to the media as he was leaving a prayer session held in his honor by the Mozambican Christian Council yesterday.

President Chissano also said that the most important thing is for Afonso Dhlakama to be given a special place in consultations with the new government.

Frelimo Official on Peace, Future Prospects

MB1112190094 Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
8 Dec 94 p 3

[Interview with senior Frelimo official Armando Guebuza by NOTICIAS correspondent Daniel Cuambe; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Cuambe] What is your assessment of the General Peace Accord [GPA]?

[Guebuza] In essence, the GPA was implemented. I repeat, in essence. The armies have ceased to exist and a new army was created. Elections were held and their results were accepted. These are the essential aspects. It is evident, however, that the GPA's objectives were not fully realized because during their implementation problems emerged, like those involving demobilized war troops and other problems that must be dealt with seriously and quickly.

[Cuambe] During the Rome peace talks, observers and mediators constantly referred to the lack of trust between the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] and the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo]. Does this problem still exist?

[Guebuza] I think distrust is a term used to explain actions that take place. You will note that whenever there is an impasse, the real problem behind that impasse disappears.

People say there is lack of trust between the parties. The Rome peace process is not aimed at creating trust between Frelimo and Renamo. That is not the process' sole objective. This is a process where the civil and political society is asked to believe we will have trust in democracy and the democratic game.

The attitude of parties must, therefore, be viewed in terms of the values of democracy, freedom of expression, and respect for citizens and not in terms of apparent or real trust between the two protagonists.

[Cuambe] But there is great uneasiness on the part of the people. Arms caches are being discovered and there are reports on the movement of armed men. What do you have to say about this?

[Guebuza] This has nothing to do with trust between the government and Renamo. It has to do with pledges that the two parties made in Rome, before the people and civilian society, to implement the accord.

It is therefore important that the involved parties, including civilian society (civilian society has already demonstrated it) should have trust in the democratic process and be fully aware that the present difficulties and problems can only be resolved through legal means, because there is a law, a way of life and organization of the society. This law establishes that there can be no armed men outside the legally instituted forces.

[Cuambe] After the GPA's conclusion, how do you assess the national reconciliation?

[Guebuza] What took place in the country over the past two years is truly impressive. I am not saying this because of the absence of armed clashes, but in having been able, in two years, to transform people's mentalities. It is impressive to see this march, which made it possible for people to understand the need for collective pardon and tolerance. This must be consolidated. What I want to stress is that this reconciliation process must be continued and consolidated from top to bottom.

[Cuambe] Are you happy with this year's election results?

[Guebuza] I am truly happy. It is true that many people, including myself, expected to obtain more votes than we did. All the same, we obtained a comfortable majority—President Chissano obtained a good majority and Frelimo has more than the needed majority to make necessary decisions.

[Cuambe] Many political circles say, however, that Frelimo should have obtained more votes than it did. It is a party that has been in existence for many years and is apparently well-established. Can you comment?

[Guebuza] It is necessary to understand that there were certain conditions involved in these elections.

All the people were voting for peace and no return to war. The voting was viewed differently, depending on one's interests and immediate objectives.

Some people thought no return to war meant voting for Frelimo. For others, it meant voting for small parties that would guarantee no return to war. There were still others who thought that voting for peace meant giving votes, or even giving many votes, to Renamo so it could feel it is part of Mozambican society.

I think it is within this interpretation that we must view Frelimo's failure to obtain a higher percentage of votes despite its establishment and consolidation, with a lot of influence, throughout the country.

[Cuambe] Frelimo officials I spoke to suggest that weak political action by Frelimo in some areas caused its failure to obtain a higher percentage in those areas. Do you agree?

[Guebuza] For a long time our party has been criticized for not carrying out its political work. It is true that we had some weaknesses, but these were corrected toward the end. We went to the countryside and carried out our work. As a matter of fact, before the electoral campaign, we observed that our party had a significant presence in the countryside where our work was weak.

[Cuambe] Can you illustrate your statement about Frelimo's roots?

[Guebuza] The Frelimo national cadre meeting was attended by 700 cadres. Many other cadres did not attend the meeting because of limited room in the hall where it took place. This in itself shows that Frelimo is well-established. Now the question is whether Frelimo is sufficiently able to convey its message to all the people throughout the country. The answer is no, and I believe other parties were also unable to do it.

[Cuambe] You were the governor of Sofala Province in the 80's. This shows that you have a good knowledge of the province's political, economic, and social reality.

[Guebuza] We have to examine the reasons why we obtained the results we obtained throughout the country. We also will examine what happened in areas where we failed to obtain the most votes.

[Cuambe] But what does a preliminary examination show?

[Guebuza] In the districts of Muanza, Cheringoma, and Maringue and in some parts of Marroneu, Frelimo's action was banned during a certain period. The election process was not as democratic as in other parts of the country.

It is also important to note that during the campaign, we were unable to fully convey our message that choosing

Frelimo means choosing peace. Here I would like to stress what I said earlier: The people of Sofala and other people in other parts of the country, traumatized in a particular way by the war, could have thought that not voting for Frelimo, because it would not resume the war, meant guaranteeing peace.

[Cuambe] Frelimo's failure to obtain a good percentage of votes in central and northern Mozambique is viewed by political observers as having been caused by the little attention devoted to those regions. Is that true?

[Guebuza] I think that is one of the views but it is subjective. There were many parties and individuals who presented that view. It was frequently repeated and propagated and, not having obtained a timely response from Frelimo, it could have produced the results it produced.

Frelimo has not done enough throughout the country and it recognizes that. It did not do it mainly because of war. In the specific cases of Sofala, Nampula, and Zambezia Provinces, however, even with the war, Frelimo carried out immense work there. Some of our major projects in the country are in Sofala and Nampula Provinces. I am not only talking about the field of transportation (Beira and Nacala Corridors) but also the fields of trade, industry, and others.

[Cuambe] What is the major lesson Frelimo learned from these elections?

[Guebuza] That Frelimo has an important role to play with its moralizing action in society, particularly in conveying the message of solidarity, tolerance, respect for human beings, and a no to war.

Frelimo observed, however, that it did not sufficiently convey these values. The lesson is, therefore, that the shortcomings in conveying this message to all the people must be overcome.

[Cuambe] Are you ready to take part in the government that will be formed in a few days?

[Guebuza] That will depend on the decision of the president of the Republic.

[Cuambe] Am I speaking to the future prime minister?

[Guebuza] As I said earlier, that will depend on the decision of the president of the Republic. I think we have to create real conditions so the president of the Republic can, without pressure, organize his government, which would reflect what we all want and will resolve the existing problems.

Dhlakama on Police, SISE Duties, UN Presence
MB0712170294 Maputo Voz da Renamo in Portuguese
1100 GMT 7 Dec 94

[Passages within quotation marks recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] President Afonso Dhlakama has called on President-elect Joaquim Chissano to adopt concrete measures to redefine the duties of the Republic of Mozambique police and the State Information and Security Service [SISE]. Dhlakama said police cannot continue to detain and intimidate people without good reason with impunity just because the people are Renamo members or demobilized troops.

[Dhlakama] "I am concerned with this situation. Although we talk of democracy, I still believe that the police carry out their work within the framework of the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] thinking. In the past, only good Marxists and communists were allowed to join the police force. That is not all. During the Rome peace talks, we wanted some Renamo members to join the police force. President Chissano rejected it, however, alleging that he did not want parties within the police force. Afterward, he introduced certain battalions of the former Mozambique Armed Forces [FAM] into the police force. This means we now have members of Frelimo and FAM forces in the police force. This is a very dangerous situation.

"President Chissano will be sworn in three days from now. After the swearing-in ceremony, I would like to see him adopt measures against police action in order to demonstrate that he is now democratic and not the Chissano we knew yesterday. He would thus begin by appointing people who have never been members of the Frelimo and FAM forces to posts in provinces and districts. He should appoint professionals and technicians, people with skills or who have to undergo intensive courses. This would be one of the measures that would demonstrate to the Mozambican people that the police force is not made up of Frelimo members."

Afonso Dhlakama warned about the danger of assaulting Renamo's demobilized war troops because one day they will lose patience.

[Dhlakama] "We receive information that police are carrying out actions against innocent citizens. In all provinces, members of opposition parties, particularly Renamo members, are being detained. They are accused of possessing weapons, which is not true. They are suspected, detained, and assaulted. I am very concerned about this situation. I have been receiving phone calls from demobilized war troops who ask: Mr. President, we want to know whether we have accepted amnesty. They want to know whether Renamo will disappear, will continue to be intimidated, because its president did not win the elections. They are disappointed. I am concerned with this situation because these are people who waged war and will not allow policemen to assault them for no reason. They are people who have been trained militarily. Fortunately, so far there have never been incidents of grabbing a weapon from a policeman and dealing with him. They are capable of that. If they do that, it will be a serious problem. I spoke to President

Chissano two weeks ago. I told him how concerned I was. So far, I have been pleading with the demobilized soldiers: Brothers do not react. You must agree to be detained and beaten up. Do not react negatively. Their reply is: Are we going to continue to live like this? Is this the democracy we fought for? They even think that President Dhlakama approves of the police action. They think President Dhlakama has been won by Chissano. People already have begun to say: Well, President Dhlakama is now in Maputo with Chissano. We were with him in the bush but today he cannot defend us. We are now beaten up, detained, and killed, and he does not say anything. Evidently, I cannot say to them: You should react against the police. What would happen with a demobilized soldier who belonged to the commando force? It is easy for him to seize a weapon from a policeman, beat him up, or even kill him. What will happen then? This cannot be allowed to continue. We must fight this behavior. We must not allow this to happen. Who can help me do this? It is Frelimo and Chissano himself."

With regard to SISE, the Renamo leader deplored the tapping of citizens' phone calls, thus violating their privacy. Afonso Dhlakama said police and SISE behavior also reflects a one-party system, ignoring that we are in a pluralistic society.

[Dhlakama] "I also would like to see changes in SISE. Until now, all SISE members, from top to bottom, are people who were and continue to be Frelimo Party members, while some of them belonged to Frelimo's FAM forces. It is a well-known fact that today SISE still carries out actions that violate people's rights and the Constitution. For example, SISE listens to people's conversation. All Renamo members' conversations are listened to. In my case, when I speak to our representatives in the provinces, I feel that someone is listening. We know this very well. Even ordinary citizens, entrepreneurs, teachers, students, and so on, are listened to. This violates human rights. Why is this happening? It is happening because SISE is an armed wing of the Frelimo Party, because it is made up of people who were good communists and Marxists. We would therefore like to see changes in this body.

"How would these changes be carried out? By appointing people who have never belonged to Frelimo, people with good reputations, people who can clearly demonstrate in a province or a district that they are there just to carry out their work and not to persecute people who contradict Frelimo ideology."

Speaking about the five provinces where Renamo emerged victorious during October's elections, Afonso Dhlakama said he hopes to be consulted before the appointment of local leaders.

[Dhlakama] "I hope President Chissano will present a proposal on how he will govern this country. We know we did not win the elections at the central level. We are not going to form the central government. All the same,

we won in the provinces of Sofala, Manica, Tete, Zambezia, and Nampula. According to the principle of democracy, people who win elections in an area, they have a right to govern there. In other words, if a small party wins in a district, it must be allowed to introduce its experience there. Democracy begins in a location, administrative post, district, or province. Renamo did not win the elections at the national level. That is why it will not form the central government. All the same, it won in five provinces. Based on principles of democracy, I think President Chissano himself is aware of the need to hold negotiations on how governors will be appointed in those provinces."

In the interview, the Renamo leader also speaks about the UN Operation in Mozambique [Unomoz], saying that the UN should leave behind some observers, at least for a period of six months.

[Dhlakama] "The Mozambican process was unique in the world. There was a transformation of Frelimo itself, which all along was the only party in the country since independence. Renamo also was able to transform itself in a short time after the signing of the peace accords into a civilian party, an opposition political party. The elections progressed smoothly. This being the case, I think it is not a bad idea to leave behind some observers. Everything that took place here in Mozambique had no precedent. It was a heritage we built ourselves and that will be copied by many countries in the world. I therefore think it would not be a bad idea to leave behind a small UN mission so it could follow up the situation. It will not be here to interfere in the country's internal affairs. It will not be a big force but a symbolic representation in order to follow up the situation. There are still a lot of things that must be carried out.

"Imagine that we still speak of arms caches, Army training, and many other things. It is true that all these problems must be solved by the Mozambican people, but it also would be a very good thing to keep a small team of UN observers for another five or six months. There are still many things we Mozambicans must resolve but we will need the assistance of foreigners.

"We all recognized that the country is destroyed. Thus, we are requesting the international community to come invest and assist us. What is more, we are facing a shortage of rain. I believe next year people will die of hunger. There already are reports of a food shortage. So our success will depend on the international community. I therefore think a small UN presence in this country would not be a bad thing. I do not believe there are Mozambicans who say they do not want to see Unomoz here. We cannot underestimate the work carried out by Unomoz. I think even UN Secretary General Dr. Butrus Butrus-Ghali himself knows very well that his mission was very successful here. Thus, he could even do the favor of willingly saying: In order to assist the Mozambican people, we are willing to keep a small mission in the country."

[Unidentified correspondent] "Why does the government want to see Unomoz out of Mozambique?"

[Dhlakama] "Well, we understand. This stand is not new. We know that the presence of the UN in this country was guaranteed by Renamo, which sought its presence during the Rome peace talks. It was Renamo that requested the UN's presence in Mozambique. We took more than six months discussing this in Rome. Frelimo said Unomoz' presence in Mozambique would invalidate Mozambique's independence; it would mean interference in the country's internal affairs; it would mean nonrecognition of the Mozambican state. We explained that that was not the case. We said the UN presence in Mozambique was vital to provide supervision, assistance, and advice. The government therefore maintains the same stand, because it thinks that when a foreigner advises or says that Frelimo is wrong, that is interference in the internal affairs of Mozambique. For Frelimo, that means the violation of national sovereignty. We understand the language of our brothers. All the same, I think Unomoz will be able to leave a small presence here. I myself would like to see that."

Without trying to present a working agenda for the new Assembly of the Republic, Afonso Dhlakama believes it will agree to review the Constitution of the Republic as soon as possible.

[Dhlakama] "Well, that is one of the tasks. Frelimo was forced to write that Constitution in 1990, trying to include all the principles advocated by Renamo. President Chissano himself was saying in 1990-91: Dhlakama come home. You should not continue in the bush because we wrote a new constitution based on your principles, based on what you, my brother, are requesting. I can pride myself today that a little of what is contained in the Constitution, which is considered democratic, is Renamo's product; it is my product. That is not enough, however. There are many laws, articles, and clauses that must be closely studied in the Constitution. We are not saying that we will immediately change everything. It will be a continuous process, a slow process that will take months and years. All the same, there is a need to accept the principle of reviewing the Constitution."

The Constitution of the Republic approved in November 1990 has been questioned not only by Renamo but also by other political parties and Mozambican personalities because it gives excessive powers to the president of the Republic. It also endangers the principle of separation of powers between the government, the legislature, and the judiciary. The Constitution also tends to favor only one party for the achievements made by the Mozambican people, thus giving it political advantages. For example, right in its preamble, the Constitution evokes the historic role played by Frelimo. President of the Republic Joaquim Chissano already has recognized that the Mozambican Constitution contains loopholes when he said that some aspects of the Constitution were left open for later debate.

Renamo's 'Relative Electoral Success' Viewed*MB0912181694 Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN in English 9-14 Dec 94 p 29*

[Article by Ross Herbert]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Renamo's relative electoral success in Mozambique is a riddle worth analysing. Yet the article by Eddie Koch and Joe Hanlon (November 25 - December 1) does more to cloud than clarify.

Perplexed about how Renamo could win a third of the presidential and parliamentary vote, they write that many people voted for Renamo out of fear of an Angola scenario and of magic spells cast to enable the party to divine the contents of secret ballots. However, the major explanation for the outcome is that the Western powers that brokered the election, the media and voters suffered under a collective "moral amnesia" that left them unable to "remember and condemn" the mutilations, rapes and recruiting of soldiers by Renamo.

After a month in Mozambique reporting on the elections, I found few afflicted with moral amnesia.

They remember Renamo's wartime atrocities. They scoffed at Afonso Dhlakama's last-minute pull out. They talk about the likelihood that Renamo, fresh from the bush, would be unprepared to take over the government. They also remember the heavy-handed Marxist experiments of Frelimo, which ran the country as a one-party state. They remember the corruption. The use of government as a larder for the southern provinces to the exclusion of the north.

Although Frelimo achieved an overall victory, many in the party were stunned by the results. In the central four provinces, which contain more than 60 percent of the population, Renamo out-pollled Frelimo by 15 to 30 points. Dhlakama did less well than his party. Frelimo, similarly, did significantly worse than its presidential candidate, Joaquim Chissano. Several party members said that Frelimo hardliners had believed their own propaganda that Renamo was nothing more than a troop of bandits. [passage omitted]

Renamo had strong support particularly among the rural, least educated people. How did those supporters come to accept the violence and still support Renamo?

Steeped in Marxist ideology, Frelimo tried aggressively to transform the country. In addition to its economic failures, it attacked nearly everything non-Marxist, particularly local culture. Coming-of-age ceremonies were banned. Traditional leaders and healers were suppressed as backward. Marriage customs were put down.

Irae Baptista, a social anthropologist and advisor to Frelimo who just completed a study of Mozambique's political transformation from the formation of Frelimo in 1962, put it this way: "When Rhodesia came to recruit people for Renamo, it was like a hot knife through butter."

To traditionalists, Frelimo's policies were tantamount to declaring war on Mozambique's soul. Once arms were taken up, there were atrocities on both sides. Perhaps people didn't have absolute statistics on the numbers of mutilations or political murders. But no one I met forgot what happened.

Over and over in Maputo, I heard statements from election officials, development workers and journalists about how uneducated Mozambicans were and how little they understood the concept of democracy.

But Mozambicans know there is no way to adjudicate every claim of war crimes. The election was about ensuring that northerners, traditionalists, non-Portuguese speakers, Muslims, Catholics, the illiterate and rural people get a seat at the political table. A practical outcome that, while imperfect, is the best that any realistic person could hope for under the circumstances.

The worst mistake would be to dismiss Renamo as illegitimate and its supporters as mere amnesiacs.

Official Confirms Mulembwe's Candidacy Legal*MB1312061594 Maputo MEDIAFAX in Portuguese 13 Dec 94 p 3*

[FBIS Translated Text] (Maputo) Dr. Brazao Mazula, chairman of the National Elections Commission, told MEDIAFAX yesterday that Dr. Eduardo Mulembwe's candidacy as deputy to the Assembly of the Republic was in accordance with the terms of the law. Dr. Mulembwe was relieved from his duties as attorney general before announcing his candidacy.

1,000 UN Soldiers Return to Their Countries*MB1012184494 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 10 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] A total of 1,000 UN soldiers from Italy, Bangladesh, and Botswana who were involved in peacekeeping work in central Mozambique already have left the city of Beira on the way back to their countries. (Giuseppe Festa), UN Operation in Mozambique commander for central Mozambique, said only a company of Bangladeshi troops will stay in Beira to look after UN equipment.

Namibia**DTA Complaints With Election Process Listed***MB1312123094 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1144 GMT 13 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Windhoek 13 Dec SAPA—Namibia's opposition DTA [Democratic Turnhalle Alliance] on Tuesday [13 December] sought an urgent court interdict against the issuing of results of last week's elections and demanded a full investigation of the entire electoral exercise.

DTA President Mishake Muyongo said his party reserved the right not to accept the results and would consider legal action to dispute the outcome of the parliamentary and presidential poll.

Provisional results released at the weekend showed the ruling SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] winning more than 70 per cent of the vote and the DTA trailing on about 22 per cent.

There had been numerous complaints about irregularities at polling stations during voting last week, Mr Muyongo said, and the DTA wanted all election materials to be open to scrutiny.

All unused ballot papers should be reconciled with used and spoilt papers in front of DTA officials and international observers.

"We want to satisfy ourselves about what happened in this country."

The DTA said its contention that the poll was a "farce" was confirmed by an Election Commissions announcement on Monday that at four constituencies more votes were cast than the number of registered voters.

It called for the summary dismissal of elections director Prof Gerhard Totemeyer and his senior staff for his "inability to provide a voters' roll".

Among the irregularities claimed by the DTA was the "absurdly" high number of new registrations in some areas, specially near the Angolan border where one region had 22,791 new voters.

More than 50,000 people had been allowed to register twice, but more than 30 per cent of eligible voters had not been able to register, most of them living in southern areas away from SWAPO's power base, Mr Muyongo said.

"I know we are an African country, but can't we do things better than other African countries?" asked DTA Vice-President Katutura Kaura.

Government Sources Confirm Purchase of Jet

MB1312105194 Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN in English
8 Dec 94 pp 1, 2

[FBIS Transcribed Text] High-ranking Government sources yesterday confirmed that Government has in fact bought a N\$6.5 [Namibian dollars] million executive jet, despite recent denials that it had not. It is reportedly being kept in South Africa until after the election results are announced.

Radio 99 yesterday quoted the respected news agency Reuters as reporting that the Government was spending N\$18 million on a Lear jet and an unspecified number of helicopters for the Namibian Defence Force. The report quoted sources in the Ministry of Transport as having confirmed that Government had bought a N\$6.5 million Lear jet in Canada.

The Indian High Commission apparently also confirmed the Namibian Government has spent N\$11.3 million on the helicopters. Yesterday President Sam Nujoma neither denied nor confirmed the purchase of the jet.

When asked about [it] when he went to vote, Nujoma responded that Namibia was a modern state and visiting executives could not be transported by donkey cart.

Approached for comment yesterday, deputy minister of Transport, Klaus Dierks denied knowing anything about the purchase.

According to reports reaching THE NAMIBIAN earlier this week the jet was either a Lear or Citation. Sources said commission the purchase had already been paid.

It is believed that the new jet will primarily be used for shorter routes inside the country in a bid to cut down on the fuel usage of the N\$80 million Falcon 900B.

In a separate development the DTA [Democratic Turnhalle Alliance] claimed on Tuesday that the Government had already sent a pilot to collect the jet but that he had been instructed not to fly back before the results were known.

Barely two weeks ago Deputy Minister Dierks categorically denied claims by DTA President Mishake Muyongo that the Government had bought an executive jet.

Muyongo said the jet was being kept in Johannesburg until after the election results were known as the ruling party was scared news of the purchase would affect the voting pattern.

In response Dierks claimed Muyongo was sucking the story out of his thumb.

"It is a lie. There is nothing like that to my knowledge and to my Ministry's knowledge," Dierks said at the time.

Earlier this year Dierks also denied allegations that Government was planning to buy new planes. He said there was no money in the current budget but admitted that the Government eventually wanted to buy two new planes.

He said Government intended selling 10 older planes, including Cheyennes and Beech Barons, which were grounded at the moment due to technical or spare parts problems.

However, Dierks added that the sale of these planes was unlikely to bring in enough revenue to buy the two new planes the Government wanted to acquire.

The purchase of the Government's N\$80 million Falcon 900B jet during the 1992 drought sparked a storm of controversy. Throughout its election campaign the DTA leadership has promised that if voted into power it would sell the jet.

Zambia**Airline Closes Down; 1,300 Jobs Eliminated**

*MB0412200694 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 4 Dec 94*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Most governments see their national airline as a status symbol, a mark of national pride, so much so that they are often prepared to spend huge sums of money propping up badly run and expensive airlines. The Zambian Government once did, but now they have had enough.

Today, the state-owned Zambia Airways was wound up. The first indication that something was wrong came last week, when hundreds of passengers were stranded in Europe after flights were canceled without warning. From Lusaka, Chola Chimbana sent this report:

Speaking on a national television and radio broadcast today, Zambia's Vice President Godfrey Myianda blamed bad management for Zambia Airways' financial crisis and said the government was not going to bail out the airline it had subsidized since it was nationalized in 1979. The government has decided that the airline will go into voluntary liquidation with immediate effect, he said. All the airline's 1,300 workers will be laid off. Creditors have already seized three of its four-plane fleet. [passage omitted]

[Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English at 1800 GMT on 4 December adds: "The government has been urged to stick to the redundancy package provided for by the union when paying [words indistinct] and the airways' workers. Deputy Vice President (Oscar Ndiako) said, because of donor pressure, there are [words indistinct] that the government will be forced by liquidation laws to pay the workers 200 kwacha as terminal benefits. Mr. (Ndiako) said the government has to stick to the collective agreement." (Ndiako) also urged the government "to fully cooperate

with Zambia Airways and the Allied Workers' Union of Zambia to ensure that everything was done according to the agreement."]

Zimbabwe**Land Redistribution Driving Away Investment**

*MB1212153394 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1330
GMT 12 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bulawayo Dec 12 SAPA—A controversial law allowing Zimbabwe's government to expropriate land for redistribution to peasants has lost the country valuable job-creating foreign investment, analysts and diplomats told the ZIANA [ZIMBABWE INTER-AFRICAN NEWS AGENCY] news agency on Monday [12 December]. They said potential investors were reluctant to pursue projects in Zimbabwe until the 1992 Land Acquisition Act was amended to give them security of tenure.

Under the act the government is empowered to designate commercial farmland which it feels is being under-used. This effectively takes away the owner's right to sell, lease or mortgage the premises for any development while the government decides whether to acquire it at any price it chooses. The high court recently dismissed cases brought by farmers against the designation of their farms and the matter has gone to appeal.

ZIANA's sources said potential investors feared that since expropriation of land without agreed compensation was allowed, nothing could stop the government expropriating their assets, too. Bulawayo economist Mr Eric Bloch said many investors accepted the need for land redistribution but believed it should be on a willing buyer, willing seller basis. "The price payable must be a fair market value with the owners being protected by the right of recourse to the courts. This would set aside the fear that land may be acquired from political opponents of government or corruptly to further the interests of those in power." Others said evolution not revolution was required, with proper infrastructural development in resettlement areas.

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